William Shakespeare.
From the Bust at Stratford on Avon.

SHAKESPEARE

LIFE AND WORK

BY

F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.

& JOHN MUNRO

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CHAPTER ONE

SHAKSPERE'S PARENTS, BOYHOOD, EDUCATION, MARRIAGE AND DEPARTURE FROM STRATFORD

NEAR the centre, the heart,[1] of England, in one of those Midland shires that gave Britain its standard speech, was the most famous user of that speech, William Shakspere, the world's greatest poet, born. Warwickshire was his county, Stratford-upon-Avon his birth-town: Warwickshire, famed for its legends of Sir Guy and Rembrun; its castles, Warwick and Kenilworth; its ancient Coventry of Guilds and Mystery-plays; its battlefield of Edgehill;[2] its Kingmaker, Warwick; its rolling hills and vales; Stratford-upon-Avon, famous alone as having given birth to Shakspere.[3] The town lies on the river Avon, there navigable; and just as the

[1] "Our Warwick-shire the Heart of England is."—1658. Sir Aston Cokain, to Dugdale.

[2] After Shakspere's time. October 23, 1642. See the description in *Graphic Illustrations of Warwickshire*, pp. 8-9. Warwickshire is also the county of one who was often calld England's Shakspere among novelists, the late George Eliot (Mrs. J. W. Cross, formerly Miss Marian Evans). (N.B.—All the dates here are Old Style ones. Add ten days to each for our New Style.)

[3] This spelling of our great poet's name is taken from the only unquestionably genuine signatures of his that we possess, the three on his will, and the two on his Blackfriars conveyance and mortgage. None of these signatures has an *e* after the *k*; three have no *a* after the first *e*; the fifth I read *eere*, or *ere*. The *a* and *e* had their French sounds, which explain the forms "Shaxper," &c. Though it has hitherto been too much to ask people to suppose that Shakspere knew how to spell his own name, I hope the demand may not prove too great for the imagination of my readers. The spelling of

stream reaches the bridge, it broadens to full treble its wonted width, as if to mirror duly the elm-ringd church on its bank, and show in full beauty the swans sailing on its surface. Round the town are more or less distant hills, and the view of it from the nearest, the Welcombe Hills, whose enclosure Shakspere said he was not able to bear, shows the town nestling in the broad valley, a quiet cosy place now numbering some 4,000 inhabitants. It and Henley, not far off to the northward, are described in a Harleian MS. of 1599 as "good markett townes." (My edition of *Harrison*, p. lxxxviii.)

The house that Shakspere was born in is not certainly known. In 1552 his father livd in "Hendley Streete," and was "presented," or reported, with Humfrey Reynolds and Adrian Quyney for making a dunghill (*sterquinarium*) in the street.

In 1575, eleven years after his son William's birth, he bought the property, afterwards two houses, with gardens and orchards, the left-hand house of which tradition assigns as the poet's birthplace (in the first-floor room above the porch and below the gable), and which, having been "restored," now looks outside as if it had been built a week ago, though the inside has been left in its old state.

Before its restoration, the left-hand house was used as a butcher's shop, and the right-hand one, then with brick front, as the "Swan and Maidenhead" Inn. The right-hand house is now a Shakspere Museum of relics, views, books, &c. The interior of the left-hand one has been left untoucht; and the dingy whitewash of the bare supposed birth-room is scribbled all over with names of

"Shakespeare" in those Quartos that have it, and the poet's arms of the fluttering bird and spear, evidently arose from the desire to give meaning to the popular (and in this case, perhaps, true) etymology-name, which so suited the conceit-mongers of Elizabeth's time. (A friend of mine explains Furnivall as Ferny-vale, but I've no idea what it means.) An old acquaintance who, as a boy, often came in to Stratford market with his grandmother, from their village near, to sell butter, &c., tells me that his grandfather and all the villagers and Stratford folk used then to pronounce the name "Shâx-per."

men, known and unknown, among the former being Byron, Walter Scott, and Alfred Tennyson.

Shakspere's father, John Shakspere[1] (not he of Clifford, or the farmer of Ington Meadow, in Hampton Lucy), was probably the son of Richard Shakspere, farmer, of Snitterfield (where John was born), three miles from Stratford, a tenant of Robert Arden, whose daughter John Shakspere married. In 1552 we find John Shakspere in Henley Street, helping to make a dunghill, as noticed above; and on June 17, 1556, Thomas Siche brings an action against him—John Shakyspere, glou*er*,[2]—for £8. Besides gloving, he took up corn-dealing, or farming, and traded in all kinds of agricultural productions, and, in 1556, he brought an action against Henry Fyld for eighteen quarters of barley, which Fyld unjustly detaind. On October 2, 1556, he bought a copyhold house, garden, and croft in Greenhill Street, and a copyhold house and garden in Henley Street. In 1557, on April 10, he was markt, but not sworn, as one of the jury of the court-leet to inquire into and reform local abuses. In 1557, he was made an ale-taster (sworn to look to the assize and goodness of bread, ale, and beer), and was fined 8*d.* for being away from three courts. Soon after Michaelmas he became a burgess of Stratford, and about the end of 1557 must have married Mary Arden, youngest daughter of the late Robert Arden, husbandman and landowner, under whose will she took a small property, of about fifty-four acres and a house, called Ashbies, at Wilmecote,[3] £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, and an interest in two tenements at Snitterfield, and other land at Wilmecote.

One notice only of old John Shakspere's appearance has come down to us, and that by the happiest chance.

[1] The name was common in most of the Northern and Midland counties of England, and at Shefford, in Bedfordshire, a William Shakspere was hanged for robbery in 1248, and came from Clapton, near Stratford-on-Avon; and records of the various families of that name are fairly common in civic records. (*See* Lee's *William Shakespeare*, 1899, p. 1.)

[2] Glou', with the mark of contraction for *er*, = 'glover.'

[3] Sly's Wincott ale, Induction to *The Shrew*.

SHAKSPERE'S FATHER

Dr. Andrew Clark, in October, 1904, discoverd a valuable reference to him and his son, William, in the Plume MSS. at Maldon, Essex, the contents of which were written at intervals between 1657 and 1663. The MS. reads: "He [Shakspere] was a glover's son. Sir John Mennes saw once his old father in his shop,—a merry-cheekt old man, that said, 'Will was a good honest fellow, but he darest [=durst] have crackt a jesst with him att any time.' This is the only record we have of John Shakspere's opinion of his gifted son. And tho' Plume mistakingly set down Sir J. Mennes as having seen John Shakspere instead of citing him as the teller of the details about the old man, there is no reason to doubt the truth of his report. Sir John was only two years old when Shakspere's father died.

The first child, Joan, of John and Mary Shakspere was baptised on September 15, 1558, and probably died soon after. On September 30, 1558—some six weeks before Queen Elizabeth's accession, on November 17—John Shakspere was one of the jury of the court-leet, and was also elected constable. On October 6, 1559, he was again made constable, and also "affeeror," or fixer of the fines not fixt by statute, to be levied for offences against the boro' by-laws. In May, 1561, he was again made affeeror; and, in September, one of the two chamberlains, which office he held for two years. On December 2, 1562, his daughter Margaret was baptised; and on April 30, 1563, she was buried.

These years, 1562-3, were bad plague years for London. Stowe says that in the city and neighbouring parishes 20,136 people died of it.[1] Of 1563 he writes (*Annals*, ed. 1605, p. 1,112):—

"Threefold plague to the poore Citizens of London.

"Forsomuch as the plague of pestilence was so hot in the citie of London, there was no Terme kept at Michaelmasse: to be short, the poore Citizens of London were this yeere plagued with a threefold plague, pestilence,

[1] It had spread from Newhaven, whither the soldiers from the French war had crowded.

scarcitie of money, and dearth of victuals: the miserie whereof were too long heere to write: no doubt the poore remember it; the rich, by flight into the countries [= counties], made shift for themselues.

"Earthquake. "An earthquake was in the month of September in diuers places of this realm, specially in Lincolne and Northamptonshire.

"*Ann. reg.* 6. Lightning and thunder. "From the first day of December till the 12, was such continuall lightning and thunder, especially the same 12 day at night, that the like had not bene seene nor heard by any man then liuing."

But in 1564 came glad tidings—

"1564. Peace with France proclaimed. "an honorable & ioyfull peace was concluded betwixt the Queenes Maiestie and the French King, their Realmes, Dominions, and Subiects, which peace was proclaimed with sound of trumpet before her Maiestie in her Castle of Windleshore [Windsor]. Also the same peace was proclaimed at London on the 13 day of Aprill."

And on the 26th, at Stratford,—Wednesday, April 26, the same as our May 6, New Style,—was baptised—

"1564, April 26, Gulielmus filius Johannes Shakspere."
[William son (of) John Shakspere.]

Well was it for the world that the plague, on its journey northward, spared one house in that pleasant Midland town, and calld on the father, not for his baby son's life, but only "towards the releeffe of the poore," for 12*d.* on August 30, 6*d.* on each of September 6 and 27, 8*d.* on October 20. The plague was rife in Stratford. "From June 30 to December 31, 238 inhabitants, a ninth of the population, are carried to the grave" (Knight).

The day of Shakspere's birth cannot be ascertaind. The inscription on his monument says that he died on April 23 (our May 3), 1616, in the 53rd year of his age. Tradition has consequently fixt on April 23 as his birthday; and of course he may have been rightly said to

be in his 53rd year if he became 52 on the day he died. But one may well doubt the probability of his being baptised at three days old, in the absence of any tradition as to his illness then; and if his death-day had been the anniversary of his birthday, the inscription would most probably have mentiond the coincidence.

We leave the brown-eyd boy for a time in his mother's arms[1] while we follow his father's fortunes. In 1564, John Shakspere and his fellow-chamberlain, John Taylor, having left office, gave in their account as "chamburlens," and in it are the entries, "Item, payd to Shakspeyre for a pec tymbur, iii.*s.*," and on January 26, 1564-5, "the chamber is found in arrerage, and ys in det unto John Shakspeyre, £1 5*s.* 8*d.*" On July 4, 1565, John Shakspere is chosen one of the fourteen aldermen of Stratford. In 1566, on February 15 (8th of Elizabeth 1565-6), "Thaccompt of William Tylor and William Symthe, chamburlens, made by John Shakspeyr," is renderd; at Michaelmas, John Shakspere is twice surety for Richard Hathaway; and on October 13, his second son, Gilbert, is baptised. No record of the family occurs in 1567, but at Michaelmas, 1568, John Shakspere was made high bailiff, or mayor, of Stratford for a year. On April 15, 1569, his third daughter, calld Joan after the dead first, was baptised; and as both the Queen's and the Earl of Worcester's players performd in the town that year,[2] perhaps father

[1] Shakspere's birth-year was that of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Cambridge, and of the great frost, the Thames being frozen over, so "that, on New-yeares euen, people went ouer and along the Thamis on the ice from London-bridge to Westminster; some played at foote-ball as boldly there as if it had bene on the dry land . . . and the people, both men and women, went on the Thamis in greater number then in any streete of the city of London." Then came a rapid thaw on January 3, 1565, at night, "which caused great flouds and high waters, that bare downe bridges and houses, and drowned many people in England, especially in Yorkeshire. Owes bridge was borne away with other."—*Stowe*, p. 1,115. Marlowe, too, was born in 1564.

[2] It is the first recorded performance. Every year after, except two, during Shakspere's youth, players acted in the town.

John took his five-and-a-half-year-old boy Will to see them. On September 5, 1571, John Shakspere was elected for a year chief alderman, which gave him the right to be called Mr.—Master, *Magister*—and on September 28, his fourth daughter, Anne (who was buried on April 4, 1579), was baptised. Did the young Will wonder, as we did, where the babies came from, and look under the gooseberry-bushes for them: or did he, later on, consult with his brothers and sisters how the youngest baby could most conveniently be made away with? At any rate, the question of his school naturally turns up in 1571, when he became seven,[1] because boys could not be admitted to the free Stratford Grammar School unless they were seven years old, able to read, and livd in the town. Thomas Hunt, curate of Luddington, the next village down the Avon, was then master of the Grammar School, and he was succeeded by Thomas Jenkins.

How a school-boy of the time was to dress and behave is told us by Francis Seager in his *Schoole of Virtue and booke of good Nourture for chyldren*, A.D. 1577, reprinted in my *Babees' Book*, Early English Text Society, 1868, pp. 333-355. He was to rise early, put on his clothes, turn up his bed, go downstairs, salute his parents and the family, wash his hands, comb his head, brush his cap and put it on, taking it off when he spoke to any man. Then he was to tie his shirt-collar to his neck, see that his clothes were tidy, fasten his girdle round his waist, rub his hose or breeches, see that his shoes were clean, wipe his nose on a napkin, pare his nails (if need were), clean his ears, wash his teeth, and get his clothes mended if torn. Then take his satchel, books, pen, paper, and ink, and off to school. On the way there he was to take off his cap and salute the folk he met, giving

[1] I went to a boarding-school at six-and-a-quarter, and recollect still, jumping with delight when the carriage drove round to take me. But after a quarter's taste of the cane, &c., tears came on going back for the autumn half.

them the inside of the road; and he was to call his school-fellows. At school he was to salute his master and school-mates, go straight to his place, undo his satchel, take out his books, and learn as hard as he could. After school he was to walk orderly home,

> "Not runnynge on heapes as a swarme of bees,
> As at this day Euery man it nowe sees;
> Not vsynge, but refusynge, suche foolyshe toyes
> As commonly are vsed in these dayes, of boyes,
> As hoopynge and halowynge, as in huntynge the fox,
> That men it hearynge, deryde them with mockes."

The model boy (which I heartily hope Will Shakspere wasn't) was, on the contrary, not to talk or chatter as he walkt home, or to gape or gaze at every new fangle; but to go soberly, be free of cap, and full of courtesy; and when he reacht home, he was to bid his fellows farewell, and salute his parents with all reverence. Then he was to wait on his parents at dinner. First, say grace; then make a low curtsey, and say, "Much good may it do you!" If he was big enough, he was then to bring the food to the table, taking care not to fill the dishes too full so as to spill them on his parents' clothes or the table-cloth. He was to have spare trenchers and napkins ready in case any guests came in; to see that there was plenty of bread and drink, often empty the voiders into which bones were thrown, and be always ready in case anything was wanted. Then he was to clear away. First, cover the saltcellar, then set a voider—dirty plate-basket—on the table, and put into it all the dirty trenchers and napkins (as forks were not yet in use, and folk ate with their fingers, the napkins would be made very dirty); then sweep the crumbs into another voider, and lay a clean trencher before every one; then set on cheese, fruit, biscuits, or carraways, with wine (if there was any), or else ale or beer. When all had finisht, he was to turn in each side of the table-cloth, and fold it up, beginning at the top. That done, spread a clean

towel on the table, or if there was not a towel, use the table-cloth; bring the basin and ewer, and, when people were ready to wash their greasy hands, pour water on them, but not too much. Then clear—"voyde"—the table that all might rise, and, lastly, make a low curtsey to them.

The hungry boy is at last free to eat his own dinner; but no, he must "pause a space, for that is a sygne of nourture and grace." Then he is to take salt with his knife; to cut his bread, not break it; not to fill his spoon too full of pottage (soup) for fear of spilling it on the cloth, and not to sup his pottage, "or speake to any, his head in the cup"; his knife is to be sharp, to cut his meat neatly; and his mouth is not to be too full when he eats.

> "Not smackynge thy lyppes, As commonly do hogges,
> Nor gnawynge the bones, As it were dogges;
> Suche rudenes abhorre, such beastlynes flie,
> At the table behave thy selfe manerly."

He is to keep his fingers clean by wiping them on a napkin; and before he drinks out of the common cup, he is to wipe his mouth, so that, like Chaucer's Prioress, he may leave no grease on the edge. At the table, his tongue is not to walk; he is not to talk or stuff:

> "Temper thy tongue and belly alway,
> For 'measure is treasure,' the prouerb doth say."

He is not to pick his teeth at the table or spit too much—"this rudnes of youth is to be abhorrde." He is only to laugh moderately, and is to learn as much good manners as he can, for

> "Aristotle, the Philosopher, this worthy sayinge writ,
> That 'maners in a chylde are more requisit
> Then playnge on instrumentes and other vayne pleasure;
> For vertuous maners Is a most precious treasure.'"

So our chestnut-haird, fair, brown-eyd, rosy-cheekt boy went to school, and waited on his father and mother and their guests. Was he like Seager's model

lad, or Jaques's "whining school-boy, with his satchel and shining morning face, creeping like a snail unwillingly to school"? (*As You Like It*, II. vii. p. 65).[1] Did he never, unlike "the blessed sun of heaven, prove a micher [truant[2]], and eat blackberries? . . . a question to be askt" (1 *Henry IV.*, II. iv. p. 86). Did he not play "ninemen's-morris"? (*Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. ii. p. 37), and "more sacks to the mill," "hide-and-seek" (*Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. p. 83), and other games[3] like hockey, foot-ball, &c., that Strutt names, and that we playd at school too? Undoubtedly he did; and bird's-nested too, I dare say,[4] and joind in May-day, Christmas, and New Year's games; helpt make hay, went to harvest-homes and sheep-shearings (*Winter's Tale*, IV. iii.), fisht (*Much Ado*, III. i. p. 69), ran out with the harriers (*Venus and Adonis*, st. 113–118), and loved a dog and horse (*Venus and Adonis*, st. 44–52; *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, IV. i. p. 89; *Shrew*, Ind. i. p. 22, II. p. 30; *Richard II.*, V. v. pp. 144-5; 1 *Henry IV.*, II. i. p. 53, &c.) as dearly as ever boy in England did. It is good to think of the bright young soul's boy-life. But in one of those extra-dramatic bits[5]

[1] Compare, too, Gremio's "As willingly as e'er I came from school," in *The Shrew*, III. ii. p. 90; *Romeo and Juliet*, II. ii. p. 65:—

"Love goes towards love, as school-boys from their books,
But love from love, toward school with heavy looks," &c.

[2] Mr. W. Watkins Old, of Monmouth, says he remembers the word in this sense in Devonshire: while in Monmouthshire the poor people still call blackberries *mwches;* to pick them is to *mwch;* and the pickers are *mwchers*. Can the words be connected with *micher?*

[3] The exercises for boys that Mulcaster, the Head-Master of Merchant Taylors' School, set up 1561, treats in his *Positions*, 1581, are, indoors: dancing, wrestling, fencing, the top and scourge (whip-top); outdoor: walking, running, leaping, swimming, riding, hunting, shooting, and playing at the ball—handball tennis, football, armball.

[4] I hope he did not, like Falstaff as a boy (*Merry Wives*, V. i. end), "pluck geese" as well as "play truant, and whip top." "To strip a living goose of its feathers was formerly an act of puerile barbarity" (Singer).

[5] Some one should collect them.

that he occasionally gives us in his plays, he tells us that in his boy-days[1] he did *not* hear of goitrous throats and travellers' lies:—

> "*Gonzalo.* When WE were BOYS,
> Who would believe that there were mountaineers
> Dew-lapped like bulls, whose throats had hanging at them
> Wallets of flesh? or that there were such men
> Whose heads stood in their breasts? which now we find
> Each putter-out of five for one[2] will bring us
> Good warrant of." —*Tempest*, III. iii. p. 88.

What did Shakspere learn at school? Latin, of course; and, notwithstanding bragging Ben Jonson's sneer of Shakspere's owning "little Latin and less Greek," it is clear that he must have been well grounded in Latin at least (*see* Capel on Dr. Farmer's Essay on "The Learning of Shakspere," 1767). On this subject, Mr. Lupton, the editor of Colet, the best authority I know,[3] says:—"I think you would be safe in concluding that at such a school as Stratford, about 1570, there would be taught—(1) an 'A B C book,' for which a pupil teacher, or 'A-B-C-darius,' is sometimes mentioned as having a salary; (2) a Catechism in English and Latin, probably Nowell's; (3) the authorised Latin grammar, *i.e.*, Lilly's, put out with a proclamation adapted to each king's reign (I have editions of 1529, 1532, 1655, &c.);

[1] "That schoolboys in early days were much the same as they are now, may be seen from 'The Birched School-Boy' (*c.* 1500) in *Meals and Manners*, ed. Furnivall, p. 385. There the young scholar complains of the 'byrchyn twyggis,' so necessary, apparently, to learning; says he'd rather go twenty miles than rise at six on Monday morning and go to school; tells his master he's been milking ducks when playing the truant; gets 'peppered' for it, and wishes the master were a hare and all his books dogs, that he and they might hunt him. Wouldn't he blow his horn!"—M.

[2] Travellers in Shakspere's time, like Fynes Moryson, &c., before starting on their travels, lent money to merchants, on condition of losing it if they did not return, or receiving three or five times its amount if they got home safe.

[3] But see the later excellent papers of Prof. Baynes in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1879, 1880, showing that Shakspere probably had large knowledge of Latin. On the "A B C Book," see Mr. Bradshaw's Paper in *Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Trans.*, 1866.

(4) some easy Latin construing book, such as Erasmus's *Colloquies*, Corderius's *Colloquies*, or Baptista Mantuanus,[1] and the familiar 'Cato,' or *Disticha de Moribus*, which is often prescribed in Statutes (a copy I have is dated 1558). [From these easier Latin books the students proceeded to construe such authors as Seneca, Terence, Plautus, Cicero, Ovid, and Virgil.] The Greek grammar, if any, in use at Stratford, would most likely be Clenard's, *i.e.*, 'Institutiones absolutissimæ in Græcam linguam' . . . Nicolao Clenardo auctore (my copy is dated 1543)." Instruction in Greek was more rare, but the quickest scholars were often given lessons in it.

The treatment of boys at school was sharp,[2] and Shakspere, no doubt, got whacks on the hands and back with a cane—to say nothing of being bircht over a desk, or hoisted on another boy's back—for making mistakes, like the rest of us in later time. English, we may be pretty sure, he was not taught; it is now only just making good headway in schools, and with the foundation of the English Association ought to be more and more efficiently taught. Of some of the university subjects, the trivials,—grammar, "logike, rhetorike,—and the quadriuials . . . I meane arethmetike, musike, geometrie, and astronomie" (*Harrison*, 1577–1587, book ii., p. 78 of my edition), I suppose some smattering was given in the grammar-school,[3] but I know no authority on the point.

On September 8, 1572, John Shakspere ceast to be chief alderman of Stratford. In 1573 he was made overseer to the will of Alexander Webbe, the husband of his sister-in-law, Agnes, and on March 11, 1574, his third son, Richard (died February 4, 1612–13), was baptised: in this year, too, the Earl of Leicester's players playd at Stratford. In 1574 the Earl of

[1] Shakspere quotes him in his first play, *Love's Labour's Lost*.

[2] *See* Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, &c., and my *Babees' Book* Forewords.

[3] If schoolmasters know a thing, they generally teach it. It was only their ignorance of English historically, and science, which so long kept these subjects out of schools.

Warwick's and the Earl of Worcester's players both acted at Stratford. In 1575, as the record of the fine levied on the purchase shows, John Shakspere bought the traditional birthplace of the poet (both houses), with its garden and orchard, for £40. And in the July of that year he may have taken his boy Will to see some of the festivities that went on at the fine red-stone Kenilworth Castle, twelve miles off, at the entertainment Leicester gave Queen Elizabeth, from Saturday, July 9, to Wednesday, July 27. Shakspere's lines in *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. iii. p. 49, describe a somewhat like scene to that of Triton on a swimming mermaid, and Arion on a dolphin's back, at Kenilworth, on Monday, July 18; and the rough Coventrymen's play of the repulse of a Danish invasion, partly by English women (acted partly on Sunday, July 17, and fully on Tuesday, July 19), may have been the poet's first hint of historical plays. This play had been acted yearly at Coventry, but was "noow of late laid dooun; they knu no cauz why, onless it wear by the zeal of certain theyr preacherz: men very commendabl for their behauiour and learning, sweet in their sermons, but sumwhat too sour in preaching awey their pastime."[1]

In 1576, John Shakspere pays 12*d.* towards the salary of the town beadle. In 1577, troubles appear to begin to come on him. He does not attend regularly the meetings of the corporation,[2] and instead of paying, like other aldermen, 6*s.* 8*d.* "towardes the furniture of thre pikemen, ij billmen, and one archer," he is let off with 3*s.* 4*d.* On October 15, 1579, he and his wife sell their in-

[1] Laneham, p. 27 of my edition for the Ballad Society, in which a sketch is given of all Captain Cox's (or Laneham's) books. Laneham's coxcombical racy letter should be read, and also the poet George Gascoigne's *Brief Rehearsal* of what was done at this time at Kenilworth.

[2] On the possible, tho' doubtful, note by Dethick, garter king-at-arms—at whose rooms the first Society of Antiquaries met (*see* my Francis Thynne's *Animadversions*, p. 93)—that in 1576 Clarence Cooke trickt John Shakspere's arms for him, *see* Dyce's note 27, p. 21 of his *Shakspere*, 1866.

terest in her property at Snitterfield, to Robert Webbe (in consequence, apparently, of pecuniary embarrassment); and on November 14, 1578, they mortgage her Ashbies property, at Wilmecote, to Edmund Lambert for £40, a mortgage which they never redeem.[1] In the list of debts annext to the will of Roger Sadler, a baker at Stratford, dated also November 14, 1578, is "Item of Edmonde Lambarte and . . . Cornishe, for the debte of Mr. John Shaksper, v.*li.*" On November 19, when every alderman is orderd to pay fourpence a week for the relief of the poor, John Shakspere is let off: he shall "not be taxed to paye anythynge." All this seems to show the respect in which he was held. In 1579, however, John Shakspere is returnd as a defaulter for not paying his year's 3*s.* 4*d.* for pike and billmen (*see* above). On April 4 his daughter Anne (born September 28, 1571) is buried, and he pays "for the bell and pall for Mr. Shakspers, dawghter, viij*d.*," seemingly 4*d.* for the bell, and 4*d.* for the pall. The same year, the players of both Lord Strange and the Countess of Essex play in the Guildhall at Stratford, as do Lord Derby's players in 1580. On May 3, 1580, Edmund, son to Mr. John Shakspere, is baptised; and John Shakspere, of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the hundred of Barlichway, is enterd in "A Book of the Names and Dwelling-Places of the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of Warwick, 1580." John Shakspere's financial troubles seem to go from bad to worse. He becomes heavily involvd to his brother-in-law, Lambert, who is apparently not disposed towards leniency; and a writ is issued against John Shakspere, but he has nothing with which to meet his liabilities. In September, 1586, his alderman's status is taken from him in consequence of his long neglect of municipal affairs.

It is probable that Shakspere left school at the age of from fourteen to sixteen. Of what he did when he left, there is no evidence. A Mr. Buston's report, given by Aubrey, is, that Shakspere "understode Latine pretty

[1] *See* my letter of October 21, 1876, in *The Academy*.

well, for he had been in his younger years a schoolmaster in the countrey"—possibly the A-B-C-darius, or pupil-teacher, that Mr. Lupton speaks of above. A Mr. Dowdall writes, in 1693, that the old clerk of Stratford Church, then above eighty, "says that this Shakspear was formerly in this towne bound apprentice to a butcher, but that he run from his master to London." It has been supposed that Shakspere was then apprenticed to his father, but we should beware of traditions and inferences. If we are to give credence to the voluminous literature which has dealt with his intellectual attainments, he must have followd almost every trade and profession that absorbd the activities of humankind,—and all of these almost simultaneously! There was, apparently, no branch of study in which he had not indulged, and his miscellaneous information was sufficient to provide material for an encyclopædia. With a remarkable prescience he anticipated the future discoveries of science, foreknew modern evolutionary theories, and was thoroughly acquainted with the mysteries of astrology! Every tradition concerning him has been amplified and illustrated. Our very ignorance as to his doings and fortunes has provided an excellent field for ingenious speculations. Another tradition says that he was an attorney's clerk; and that he was so at one time of his life, I, as a lawyer, have no doubt. Of the details of no profession does he show such an intimate acquaintance as he does of law. The other books in imitation of Lord Campbell's prove it to any one who knows enough law to be able to judge. They are just jokes; and Shakspere's knowledge of insanity was not got in a doctor's shop, though his law was (I believe) in a lawyer's office.[1]

[1] *See* Gray on this, *Shakespeare's Marriage*, &c., 1905, 111-2. Shakspere may easily, in his capacity as actor and playwright, have become intimate with the barristers, &c., who frequented the theatre and liked plays. Legal terms are not infrequent in Elizabethan literature. Strasser's *Shakespeare als Jurist*, Halle, 1907, gives one theory on the question. *See* the remarks of my friend Dr. Dyboski in *Allgemeines Literaturblatt*, xvii. 78.—M.

SHAKSPERE AS A YOUNG FELLOW

Shakspere, and his life as a Stratford lad, must be left to the fancy of every reader. My own notion of him is hinted at above (p. 17, &c.). Taking the boy to be the father of the man, I see a square-built yet lithe and active fellow,[1] with ruddy cheeks, hazel eyes, a high forehead, and auburn hair,[2] as full of life as an egg is full of meat, impulsive, inquiring, sympathetic; up to any fun and daring; into scrapes, and out of them with a laugh; making love to all the girls; a favourite wherever he goes—even with the prigs and fools he mocks;—untroubled as yet with Hamlet doubts; but in many a quiet time communing with the beauty of earth and sky around him, with the thoughts of men of old in books;[3] throwing himself with all his heart into all he does. At this time we may infer, too, with some certainty, that he noted the many rural scenes around him, took stock of the wild flowers and the birds, and learnt much of the lore of dogs and horses which he displays in his works. His frequent references to sports, hawking, coursing, and hunting, make us believe that he must have seen all of these frequently and probably have indulged in them personally. His frequent references to boyish games seem to show that his childhood was a happy one. To the Stratford of his boyhood, likewise, we may safely suppose the suggestions to have come for the rural clowns, such as Bottom and his mates, which he afterwards put on the stage with their village-green performances.

[1] The "lame" and "lameness" of Sonnets XXXVII. and LXXXIX. were certainly purely metaphorical. In LXXXIX., the contrast is between what is *not* (the lameness) and what the friend's wish would create, 'His lameness, too, could not escape notice by his contemporaries. Note Ben Jonson's words in his famous eulogy:

> . . . to hear thy buskin tread,
> And shake a stage; or, when thy socks were on,
> Leave thee alone for the comparison
> Of all that insolent Greece, or haughty Rome
> Sent forth, &c.'

[2] These are the colours on the bust in Stratford Church. "Your chestnut was ever the only colour."

[3] I don't press the books point, except they were story-books such as then existed.

Of course, every impulsive young fellow falls in love; and, of course, the girl he does it with is older than himself. Who is there of us that has not gone through the process, probably many times? Young stupids we were, no doubt; so was Shakspere. But, unluckily, he went further; and one day near Michaelmas, 1582, he of eighteen-and-a-half, and his Anne Hathaway of twenty-six[1]—"read no more." Their marriage became necessary. The bond to the bishop's officials, to enable the marriage to take place after once asking of the banns,[2] was dated November 28, 1582; and their baby, Susanna, was baptised on May 26, 1583. Such things were common enough then, as they have been since, especially in country life; and I don't think this one is helpt by supposing a public betrothment of William and Anne beforehand in the presence of friends.[3] I doubt John Shakspere, or any other father, being likely to consent formally to the pledging of his boy of eighteen-and-a-half, when both he and his boy were poor, to a woman of twenty-six, who was poor too, unless the case was one of necessity. A father would be much more likely

[1] She died "the 6th day of August, 1623, being of the age of 67 yeares" (so, born in 1556, eight years before Shakspere), says the brass plate over her grave in Stratford Church. The "read no more" is Dante's.

[2] The wording of the Condition of the Bond is awkward: "if the said William Shagspere do *not* proceed to solemnisacion of marriadg with the said Ann Hathwey *without* the consent of his friendes," &c., then the bond is to be void. The words did not bind Shakspere to marry Anne Hathaway, but only secured that if he married her, her friends should consent to it, and so clear the bishop. Of course, when she and the boy had got into their mess, her mother and father would consent to the marriage.

[3] A form of betrothal, with long explanations about it, for those who desire to "marry in the Lord," is containd in *A Godly Form of Household Government*, 1598, &c., by R[obert] C[leaver], 4411, df. Brit. Mus. The consent of the parents and the couple being given, "the parties are to be betrothed and affianced in these words, or such like:—"*I, N., do willingly promise to marry thee, N., if God will, and I liue, whensoeuer our parents shall thinke good and meet; til which time I take thee for my onely betrothed wife, & thereto plight thee my troth. In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost: So bee it.*"

to tell his boy not to make a young fool of himself in that way.

Anne Hathaway was one of the daughters of Richard Hathaway, husbandman, of Shottery, a little village within a mile of Stratford, where his thatcht cottage, tenanted, in 1881, in part by one of his supposed descendants, Mrs. Baker, is still to be seen—a pleasant body Mrs. Baker was, and pleasant is the walk across the fields to her cottage. Richard Hathaway in his will left £6 13*s.* 4*d.* to his daughter Agnes: there can be little doubt that this "Agnes" was Shakspere's "Anne," the two forms being then only different versions of the same name.[1]

Exactly when or where this marriage was solemnised, we do not know.

"There is no entry in the Stratford registers to guide us," says Munro, "and there is no actual corroboration of the tradition that the ceremony was performd at Luddington near by. One important item of evidence, however, on the marriage has been discoverd in the register of the diocesan bishop of Worcester, where Fulk Sandells and John Richardson, farmers of Stratford, bound themselves, Nov. 28, 1582, in a surety of £40, to free the bishop from all responsi-

"The same is to bee done by the woman, the name only chaunged, and all in the presence of the Parents, kinsfolkes, and frienda."

And among the things that the betrothd couple were to be publicly admonisht after the ceremony, was, that they were "to abstaine from the vse of marriage, and to behaue themselves wisely, chastly, lovingly, and soberly till the day appointed do come." And this "Because the Lord would by this meanes make a difference betwixt bruite beastes and men, and betwixt the Prophane and his children. For they, euen as beastes, do after a beastlike manner, beeing led by a naturall instinct and motion, fall together: but God will haue this difference, whereby his children should bee seuered from that brutish manner, in that they should haue a certaine distance of time betweene the knitting of affection, and the enioying one of another, and a more neere ioyning of one vnto another."—Pp. 137-138. See longer extracts in my letter in *The Academy*, November, 1876.

[1] On September 1, 1581, Richard Hathaway made his will, and he was buried at Stratford on September 7, 1581. This will is in Somerset House.

bility should there be any lawful impediment afterwards discoverd which would have destroyd the legality of the marriage, shortly to be performd, between William Shakspere and Anne Hathaway. Such a bond not only, in the ordinary course, exculpated the officiating minister, in the event of the marriage being subsequently found to be illegal, but expedited its solemnisation, as only once calling of the banns was renderd necessary. This was not, however, the only irregular feature in the marriage. Such bonds as this invariably stipulated that no ceremony should take place without the consent of the parents on both sides, and certainly a minor, like Shakspere, could not have been married without his parents' consent. No mention of the father, John Shakspere, or of the mother, Mary, was made, however, and the minister who conducted the marriage must have been induced, by some means or other, to have conveniently overlookt this circumstance. The fact that the two sureties were both from Shottery, the bride's home, that Shakspere's father was not a party to the wedding, and that Shakspere's first child, Susanna, was born about six months after his marriage, shows what was probably the true state of things. The Shakspere family may not have known of the affair till after its conclusion.[1] Under these circumstances we may think it improbable that the marriage would be solemnised at Stratford, and see, therefore, why the town registers contain no entry of it.

"On the day previous to the date of this bond, moreover, November 27, 1582, a licence was granted, according to an entry in the Worcester Register of Bishop Whitgift, for the marriage of William Shaxpere and *Anne Whateley* of Temple Grafton. The discovery of this record has led to a number of ingenious speculations among Shakspere critics, from the suggestion that Anne Hathaway was a widow (most certainly wrong), to another that the poet was implicated in

[1] *See* Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakspeare*, 1899, pp. 19-21.

two separate affairs, that two different women claimd him and one got him. The most acceptable is that of Mr. Joseph Hill in *Historic Warwickshire* (J. Tom Burgess, 102), cited by J. W. Gray,[1] that 'Whateley' is a misreading of 'Hathaway,' or 'Hathwey,' the 'm' at the end of the Latinised 'Annam' being mistaken for a 'w.' Mr. Gray, who can speak on these matters with authority, points out that the register entry was possibly made from the allegation to which the applicant was sworn, and in which full particulars of those concernd were renderd. In this case the difference of one day in the date is no serious inconvenience, and was, in fact, not an uncommon occurrence. The name 'Whateley' was quite familiar to those who made the entries, as it occurs often about the time of the Shakspere entry, and mistakes, similar to this of 'Whateley' for 'Hathwey,' are cited by Mr. Gray, pp. 26-27. I should add that Mr. Gray dissents from the usual interpretation placed on the marriage bond, &c. 'In any case,' he says, p. 69, 'the view that something discreditable to Shakspere or his wife is implied by the application for the licence is not sustaind by the documentary evidence or by a consideration of the known facts relating to their marriage'; he suggests a number of reasons why secrecy might have been used, and denies that the marriage took place without John Shakspere's knowledge and consent."

What Shakspere had to keep himself, his wife, and baby on, is not recorded; but he probably livd at Stratford, for there his twins, Hamnet and Judith—probably named after Hamnet Sadler (possibly a baker) and Judith his wife—were baptised on February 2, 1585 (1584-5). Here, then, is our young poet, not twenty-one, yet with three children, and a wife eight years older than himself, pretty well weighted for his run thru life. Was his early married life a happy one? I doubt it. Look at the probabilities of the case, and at the way in which Shakspere dwells on the evils of a woman

[1] *Shakespeare's Marriage, &c.*, 1905.

wedding one younger than herself in *Twelfth Night*, II. iv. p. 62, of the disdain and discord which grow thru mistakes like his own, in the *Tempest*, IV. i. p. 94, and of a wife's jealousy[1] in his second—some folk say his first—play, *The Comedy of Errors*, V. i. p. 92, and on the doctrine that men "are masters to their females, and their lords." I suspect that the Abbess and Luciana in the latter play represent their creator's then opinion on these points, while Adriana speaks his wife's.[2] If so, this would be one cause to lead Shakspere to seek his fortunes elsewhere. The need of winning money and fame would be another. And tradition gives us a third: that Shakspere joind some wild young fellows in breaking into Sir Thomas Lucy's park at Charlecote, about three miles from Stratford, and stealing his deer, for which, and for writing an impossibly bad ballad against Sir Thomas, the latter so persecuted the poet that he had to leave Stratford.[3] The lawfulness of poaching was, even in my young days, strongly imprest on the country mind, and no doubt Stratford folk held Andrew Borde's opinion of venison, "I am sure it is a lordes dysshe, and I am sure it is good for an

[1] "The presence of termagant or shrewish woman" is Prof. Dowden's 11th characteristic of Shakspere's early plays (*Shakspere, His Mind and Art*, p. 59). *See* Gervinus, too, p. 137. The "What is wedlock forced, but a hell, an age of discord and continual strife?" of 1 *Henry VI.*, V. v. p. 147, is almost certainly not Shakspere's.

[2] Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Chaucer were probably of like minds. Chaucer would hear more than once of Miss Cecilia Champaigne.

[3] Davies, who was vicar of Saperton, Gloucester, late in the 17th century, says that Lucy had Shakspere whipt and imprisond, and at last caused him to fly from Stratford. All this does not agree with the "gentleness" that his London contemporaries discoverd in him. There is, however, apparently satirical reference to Lucy in Justice Shallow, with a "dozen white luces" on his coat [of arms], but even this is uncertain. Mrs. Stopes says decisively: "I am sure that 'Shallow' was not intended to represent Sir Thomas Lucy; that there was no foundation for the tradition, and that the whole story was built upon a misreading of Shakespeare's plays and a misunderstanding of his art. His genius was too well balanced to produce a meaningless caricature from superficial associations" (*Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries*, 1907, p. 33).—M.

Englysshe man, for it doth anymate hym to be as he is, whiche is, strong and hardy."[1] And one would expect Shakspere to have a hand in any fun that was going on. But all is uncertain. The objection that Charlecote was not a park till Charles II.'s reign is of little avail, because Rathgeb notes that deer were kept here in woods as well as parks (my *Harrison*, p. 82), and that the Lucys had deer is pretty clear, because Sir Thomas's son sent Lord Ellesmere a buck in 1602. Anyway, it is generally supposed, though without any sure ground, that Shakspere left Stratford in or about 1586. As we have no tidings of Chaucer for seven years, from his ransom for £16 from France in the spring of 1360, till 1367, so we have no tidings of Shakspere from the baptism of his twins in February, 1585, till 1592, when he is successful enough as actor and author in London to be sneered at in Greene's posthumous *Groatsworth of Wit*. I say no tidings, though we have, in a record of his father's action in the Queen's Bench for £30 against John Lambert, the son of the mortgagee of the Ashbies property (p. 11, above), John Shakspere's Statement, in 1589, first, that John Lambert agreed, on September 26, 1587, to pay him £20 if he, John Shakspere, his wife, and son William, would confirm the Ashbies property to Lambert; second, that he, John Shakspere, and his wife, and son William had always been ready so to confirm the property, but that John Lambert had never paid the £20. (*Halliwell's Illustrations*, Part I., end.) We must now hark back a bit.

By 1586 John Shakspere's money troubles had increast. On June 19 the return made to a writ to distrain goods on his land was, that he had nothing which could be distraind; so a writ to take his person was issued on

[1] He goes on, "But I do aduertyse euery man, for all my wordes, not to kylle and so to eate of it, excepte it be lawfully, for it is a meate for great men. And great men do not set so moch by the meate, as they do by the pastyme of killyng of it."—p. 275 of my edition. That deer-stealing was a regular amusement of wild young fellows in Shakspere's time, *see* the extracts in Halliwell's Folio *Shakspere*, vol. i.

February 16, and again on March 2. He was also deprivd of his aldermanship on September 6, because "Mr. Wheler . . . and Mr. Shaxpere dothe not come to the halles when they be warned, nor hathe not done of long tyme." On March 29, 1587, John Shakspere produced a writ of *habeas corpus* in the Stratford Court of Record, which shows that he had been in custody or prison, probably for debt, and, as he would urge, put there illegally.

His father being thus in fresh difficulties, and Shakspere himself probably not prosperous, "The Queen's Players"—not known to be the company with which Shakspere is always connected—came for the first time to Stratford, in 1587. And this was probably the turning-point in Shakspere's life. At any rate, sooner or later he left his birth-town for London, and took the way to fame and fortune.[1] Two roads lay before him for his journey, one over Edge Hill, thru Drayton, Banbury, Buckingham, Aylesbury, Amersham, Uxbridge—the road engravd by Ogilby in 1675[2]—the other by Shipston, Long Compton,[3] Woodstock,

[1] The departure for London is sometimes placed as early as 1582, after the marriage. But the birth of the twins in 1585 does not help in the acceptance of so early a date, unless Shakspere is thought to have travelld backwards and forwards to London from Stratford—a circumstance which is not likely, according to the very little knowledge we have of the poet's early London days. An opinion held in some quarters nowadays, however, holds that Shakspere never was so poor and insignificant in his early London time as most critics have allowd, but that he came to the metropolis with letters to influential persons. Under those circumstances it is strange that he joind the then despised class of actors. Nothing certain is known of all this.—M.

[2] It is also given as *the* London road in *England Displayed*, 1769.

[3] "Over a fine stretch of highish land, part of the way," says Mr. Wheatley. *The Graphic Illustrations*, p. 6, says of this part of the county: "Its hills are chiefly in the south, and although of slight elevation, open up scenes of much beauty. On the extreme border is Long Compton Hill, affording an extensive prospect; and in a field not far off, adjoining the road to Oxford, which passes over this hill, are the celebrated Rollich or Rollright Stones. These stones are disposed in a circular form, and appear to have been

Oxford, High Wycombe, Beaconsfield, and Uxbridge. Perchance Shakspere took the latter,[1] over lias and oolite at first, to see the town that Hentzner describes in 1598 as "Oxford, the famed Athens of England; that glorious seminary of learning and wisdom; whence religion, politeness and letters are abundantly dispersed into all parts of the kingdom,"[2] the sight of which must have filld the young poet's heart with delight. No doubt he wisht that he could then, in 1587, have been taking his M.A. degree there, as his only rival, then unknown to him, Christopher Marlowe, the Canterbury shoemaker's son, was taking his M.A. at Cambridge. Over the Chiltern Hills, the Wycombe chalk—whose fair downs and woods elsewhere bound Thames stream from Hedsor to past Pangbourne—he'd descend to London clay, and from Uxbridge pass thru my old school-village, Hanwell, to Ealing, Shepherd's Bush, and so to London thru New Gate, leaving on his left, St. John's Wood, where in Crowley's day, 1542, and long after, were foxes for my Lord Mayor to hunt. On his road up, William Shakspere would take his ease in his inn,[3] whether he walkt or rode; for, says Harrison, ed. 1587, bk. 3, ch. 16, p. 246, col. 2: —

"Those townes that we call thorowfaires haue great and sumptuous innes builded in them, for the receiuing of such trauellers and strangers as passe to and fro. The manner of harbouring wherein, is not like to that of some other countries, in which the host or goodman of the house dooth chalenge a lordlie authoritie ouer his

originally sixty in number. . . . There can . . . be little doubt that . . . . they are the remains of a Druid temple"—notwithstanding the legend that they're the bodies of a Danish invading prince and his followers, turnd into stone by a British fairy, as the names of "the King's Stone" and "the Whispering Knights" still bear witness.

[1] *See* Hales's paper on it, in *The Cornhill Magazine*, January, 1877. My notes are independent ones.

[2] My *Harrison*, p. lxxxvii. *See*, too, p. lxxiii.

[3] The earliest use of the phrase I know, is in *The Pilgrim's Tale*, ab. 1537, in my Thynne's *Animadversions*, p. 77.

ghests, but cleane otherwise, sith euerie man may vse his inne as his owne house in England, and haue for his monie how great or little varietie of vittels, and what other seruice, himselfe shall thinke expedient to call for. Our innes are also verie well furnished with naperie, bedding, and tapisterie, especiallie with naperie: for, beside the linnen vsed at the tables, which is commonlie washed dailie, is such and so much as belongeth vnto the estate and calling of the ghest. Ech commer is sure to lie in cleane sheets, wherein no man hath beene lodged since they came from the landresse, or out of the water wherein they were last washed. If the traueller haue an horsse, his bed dooth cost him nothing; but if he go on foot, he is sure to paie a penie for the same; but whether he be horsseman or footman, if his chamber be once appointed, he may carie the kaie with him, as of his owne house, so long as he lodgeth there."[1]

Shakspere would also go armd, for he would be liable to meet suspicious-looking fellows with—as Harrison says, p. 283 of my edition—"the excessiue staues which diuerse that trauell by the waie doo carrie vpon their shoulders, whereof some are twelue or thirteene foote long,[2] beside the pike of twelue inches; but as they are commonlie suspected of honest men to be theeues and robbers, or at the leastwise scarse true men which beare them; so by reason of this and the like suspicious weapons, the honest traueller is now inforced to ride with a case of dags [pistols] at his sadle bow, or with some pretie short snapper, whereby he may deale with them further off in his owne defense, before he come within the danger of these weapons. Finallie, no man traueller by the waie without his sword, or some such weapon, with vs; except the minister, who commonlie weareth none at all, vnlesse it be a dagger or hanger at his side.

[1] *See* also the interesting extract from Fynes Moryson, A.D. 1617, in my *Harrison*, p. lxx., and the rest of Harrison's bk. 3, ch. 16, ed. 1587, as to the ostler and chamberlain (waiter) being in league with the highway robbers.

[2] "*Gadshill.* I am joined with no foot land-rakers, no *long-staff* sixpenny strikers."—1 *Henry IV.*, II. 1. p. 57.

Seldom also are they or anie other waifaring men robbed, without the consent of the chamberleine, tapster, or ostler where they bait and lie, who, feeling at their alighting whether their capcases or budgets be of anie weight or not, by taking them downe from their sadles, or otherwise see their store in drawing of their purses, do by and by giue intimation to some one or other attendant dailie in the yard or house, or dwelling hard by, vpon such matches, whether the preie be worth the following or no."

Probably Shakspere on his first journey would not be worth robbing. His road would no doubt be a fair one to travel on, except perhaps on the Oxford and London clays. His Garmombles of *The Merry Wives*[1]—Count Mûmpelgart—drove from London to Oxford, 47 miles, in August, 1592, in a day and a half, which means good roads for the lumbering coaches and post-horses of the day, or even for riding, when out on a tour. His secretary thus describes the country:—

"Between London and Oxford the country is in some places very fertile, in others very boggy and mossy; and such immense numbers of sheep are bred on it round about that it is astonishing. There is besides a superabundance of fine oxen and other good cattle."—Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James I.*, p. 30.

[For his arrival in London, and the rest of his outward Life, *see* Chapters X. and XI., p. 174, &c.]

[1] So-called in the imperfect Quarto; *see* the Introduction to that play, p. 15.

CHAPTER TWO

SHAKSPERE'S LONDON

AND what was the London into whose gates Shakspere enterd? Not a vast, ever-expanding, smoke-begrimed city like our own, with its roar and bustle and its intricate network of subterranean and invisible communications, nor yet that wilderness of houses which calld forth the wonder of Heine; but a free, open city in the green fields, pleasant with its flower-gardens and its tree-shaded walks, situated for the most part on the left bank of a clear crystal river, spannd by the noble bridge which was reckond one of the wonders of the world, and gay with the constant passage of a hundred boats. 'Silver streaming' Thames, as Spenser calld it, then the great highway of London, was not yet dark with pollution; salmon could still live in it where it flowd past the Temple or Blackfriars. Hampstead and Islington were distant villages on the hills—Hampstead noted for its mills, and Islington for its dairy and its duck-hunting. In the fields at Finsbury and Smithfield the city archers went to practise. Flowers bloomd in profusion in Ely Place which opend out to the fields. London was still, recognisably, a medieval city, enclosed in many-gated walls, with every evidence within it of its long historic past, not yet too large to be lovd, as an old writer has said,[1] a fair city, proud of its great halls and mansions, rejoicing in ever-recurring civic displays and costly pageants, 'lovely London,' as Peele calld it, 'the flowre of cities all,' in the words of Dunbar.

[1] G. W. Thornbury, *Shakspere's England*, 1856, i. 13. (But we must allow its dirt and bad drainage, and its consequent constantly recurring plagues.—F.)

SHAKSPERE'S LONDON: WALLS

London was a walld city from early times,—from the later Roman period. In Elizabethan days, the old wall along the river had long since disappeard, but the northern wall with its gates was still intact. At Ludgate, the nearest entrance to the river, was the gaol where the poor prisoners beggd alms thru the grating with melancholy cries. Here, too, on that fatal Sunday in February, 1601, rash, unruly Essex burst into London with his handful of malcontent followers, to raise the city. Here, too, his small forces were scatterd and his rebellion quelld.[1] From Ludgate, the wall went northward to Newgate,[2] for centuries the main western entrance to the city, long used as a prison, and once rebuilt by Mayor Richard Whittington, where again the ears of passers-by were assaild by the plaintive wails of the miserable prisoners begging for bread and meat. Northward the wall went to Aldersgate thru Christ's Hospital precincts and St. Martin's-le-Grand where the foreign craftsmen dwelt, and where the old church of St. Martin's had tolld the curfew till the bells of Bow took up the refrain in their place. From Aldersgate the wall proceeded to Cripplegate with an outpost, in the Watch-Tower or Barbican. From here the next gate was at Moorgate, made by the Mayor, Thomas Falconer, in 1415, for the use of hay and wood carts visiting the London markets. Without the wall was Moorfields, in early days a morass; in later times the favorite walk of the citizens. Bishopsgate came next, calld after Erkenwald, the Saxon bishop of London, long in the charge of the Hanse Merchants, who were freed from paying the tolls by reason of their responsibility for repairing and keeping the gate. The last gate, proper, was Aldgate, where gentle, jovial Chaucer

[1] A contemporary MS. account of this, which I shall probably print, exists in the British Museum. In Bacon's *Declaration of the Treasons of Essex* is an account of the arrangement enterd into by the conspirators with the actors for the production of Shakspere's *Richard III.* (*See* my new edition of the *Allusion Book.*)

[2] A fine engraving of old Newgate (the gate itself) is given in the front of Thos. Bayly's *Herba Parietis*, 1650

livd and wrote, and thence the wall turnd towards the Tower, not then the mere relic of a bygone age, but still the strong citadel and state prison of the city.[1] A great number of churches, most of them with spires, stood in the old streets, and were burnt down in the Great Fire. The highways of the city were generally narrow, fires being a constant danger, and infectious diseases spreading with terrible rapidity.

The curfew-bell of Bow was echoed throughout the city and suburbs by St. Bride's, St. Giles's and Cripplegate chimes. The city gates were then clapt-to, and the night-watch patrolld the streets with their formidable bills. The picture given by Shakspere of Dogberry and his mates seems to have been only too correct. The watch were often scoundrels, and cowards, open to bribery, liars, thieves, and useless in emergencies. Burleigh, writing to Walsingham, described a knot of twelve watchmen with their long staves under a penthouse at Enfield, who, on his enquiring for what they waited, replied that they were watching for three young men concernd in Babington's conspiracy against the Queen, with no other indication to guide them than that one of the three had a hookt nose.[2] Many of the city streets, very narrow, and always poorly lighted, were dangerous at night: night-walkers were apprehended by the watch, brawls were frequent; and the dawn of day sometimes disclosed the body of a man lying across the pathway with a sword wound in his breast. In the lonely by-lanes of London the 'curtesy man' lingerd at night to waylay the solitary pedestrian and win money from him by means of humble and curteous address and a variety of lies.[3] Gallants emerging from the taverns hired a link-boy or a tavern-drawer to light them home; and many were the devices they employd to escape from the ignorant watch. 'If,'

[1] *See* H. B. Wheatley, *The Story of London*, 1905, Chap. ii.

[2] Thornbury, i. 358-9.

[3] *The Rogues and Vagabonds of Shakspere's Youth;* Awdeley's *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*, &c., ed. Viles and Furnivall, 1907, 6-7.

says Dekker, 'you smell a watch, and that you may easily do, for commonly they eat onions to keep them in sleeping, which they account a medicine against cold; or, if you come within danger of their brown bills; let him that is your candlestick . . . let *ignis fatuus*, I say, being within the reach of the constable's staff, ask aloud, "Sir Giles"—or "Sir Abram,"—"will you turn this way, or down that street?" It skills not, though there be none dubbed in your bunch; the watch will wink at you, only for the love they bear to arms and knighthood. . . . All the way you pass, especially being approached near some of the gates, talk of none but lords, and such ladies with whom you have played at primero, or danced in the presence, the very same day; it is a chance to lock up the lips of an inquisitive bellman.'[1]

The life of the citizens was to a large extent an open-air one. The shops were generally penthouse sheds over which swung ponderous signs, and before which sharp, and often rascally, apprentices cried aloud, 'What d'ye lack, gentles? what d'ye lack?'[2] Itinerant hawkers past thru every street with a medley of different wares, colliers, tinkers, lace-buyers, apple-sellers, mat-makers, fish-vendors and milkmen, all crying aloud their articles for sale. The broom man proclaims his goods in a set song, not unpleasing to hear. A somewhat unruly crowd of 'prentices gather round a ballad-seller, who sings his ballads free:

> 'Will you hear a Spanish lady,
> How she wooed an Englishman?
> Garments gay and rich as may be,
> Decked with jewels, she had on.
> Of a comely countenance and grace was she,
> And by birth and parentage of high degree!'[3]

[1] *The Gulls Horn-Book*, by Thos. Dekker, 1609, edited by R. B. McKerrow, 1905, pp. 77-9.

[2] Thornbury, i. 18.

[3] "The Spanish Lady's Love, after the taking of Cadiz," printed from Thos. Deloney's "Garland of Goodwill" (late 16th century) in *A Bundle of Ballads*, Intr. Hy. Morley, p. 73.

SHAKSPERE'S LONDON: STREET SCENES

All sorts of men and women jostle in the streets; we see a grey and aged antiquary hobbling off to buy an old manuscript of Lydgate; an awkward-bodied country knight swaggering proudly along, resplendent with a superabundance of gold lace; two disdainful gallants, with their murrey French hats, their embost girdles and their laced satin doublets, talking aloud of fair ladies and rich wines, ever drawing their new watches from their pockets to proclaim their wealth therein, conspicuous in their great starcht ruffs, and jingling their spurs as they proceed towards the playhouse or the ordinary; a poor, rough, ragged pot-poet, with his small eyes staring out of his 'fyr-reed cherubinnes face,' like Chaucer's Somnour, whose verses are as patcht as his doublet and hose, whose muse runs like the tap, and ebbs and flows at the mercy of the spiggot, and who draws his inspiration from the back-street tavern where he is ever in debt; the fair, buxom hostess of a certain inn, with a merry eye and a red lip, and a witty jest for the occasion, the loadstone of iron knights, gallants and roarers—and what if she *is* kist by the riotous rascals who haunt her house in the evening!—; a poor, shriveld attorney, muttering broken Latin (never being sure of the endings), with a roll of parchments under his arm of the same color as his complexion, emerging from the dusty dungeon in which he conducts his affairs, into the open highway where the light makes his old eyes blink;[1] a red-faced rogue, with his arm bound up to pass for a wounded soldier, in an old torn jacket of blue with a red cross, in loose breeches, a dirty Scotch cap on his head deckt with a ragged feather, and a pair of mouldy shoes on his feet, destined, after a career of thieving and roguery, to end his days at Tyburn;[2] fair citizens' wives, like Mistresses Ford and Page, dimple-cheekt and merry; children staring open-moutht at the strange characters who pass them; sober-faced parsons in russet and black—Sir John and Sir Robert, loved of their parishioners; poor, needy

[1] John Earle's *Micro-Cosmographie*, ed. Arber, 1895.
[2] Spenser's *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, 204.

tutors, little honord and little requited for their learning; a coarse, brutal sergeant, disguised as a butcher;—an endless procession of men and women in a wonderful variety of different dresses of different colors, cuts and materials;—a motly throng in every sense, passing hither and thither in those old narrow streets under the gabled houses hung with many signs. The 'prentices, in spite of the rigorous law, were a rebellious and turbulent mob, and fights in the streets were frequent and dangerous; and often the sheriff's men were calld out to make peace between the blue-coated serving-men with their silver badges, and the rough 'prentices, engaged in a pitcht battle. Fraudulent tradesmen, slanderers, quacks and cheats were put in the public stocks; thieves had their ears naild to the pillory, and were given a knife to cut themselves free; vagabonds were dragd across the Thames at a boat's end; strumpets were whipt at a cart's tail thru the streets; the heads of traitors were fixt on the spikes of Bridge Gate on the Southwark side of London Bridge. The fashionable gallant in his silks and velvets mounted his hobby and rode thru the city, his Irish footboy running by him, and his French page following behind. Ponderous Dutch coaches rolld thru the narrow streets, with footboys running at their sides. Sometimes one or more of the twelve great companies made a pompous procession thru the highways to and from their halls: the Fellowship of the Fishmongers in all their livery attended the obit of John Mongeham every year at the church of St. Mary-at-Hill, whereto went also at other times my Lord Mayor with his macebearer and sheriffs. The London archers in their rich dresses took part in the great pageants. Elizabeth herself often past thru the city, and sometimes her pomp was curious, 'a thousand men in harness with shirts of mail and corselets and morice-pikes, and ten great pieces carried through the city, with drums and trumpets sounding, and two morrice dancings and in a cart two white bears.'[1] The magnificent watch-

[1] Mandell Creighton, *The Age of Elizabeth*, 1892, p. 138.

night pageant, with its horses, its glitter, its torches and its revelry, is described in two MSS. containing the official regulations.[1] To see this splendid spectacle all the people of London must have issued from their doors. Sometimes there was a great procession on the river, the companies in all their livery, with their bright banners, in their deckt and gilded barges; or the Mayor himself in all his civic glory, speaking of opulence and peace, in his official barge, streamers flying, trumpets sounding, noises of shouting and cheering; or Cynthia, that 'crowne of lillies,' like queenly Cleopatra on the Cydnus, the virgin-queen herself in her barge of state, riding over the clear water past the flower-hemd gardens of her nobles' houses standing back from the river's edge.

On its eminence in the city stood St. Paul's, the centre of London Life. Its great aisle was the promenade of the city, the meeting-place of friends, the centre of fashion, the resort of poets, players, gallants, cheats, pickpockets, lawyers, and out-of-place serving-men. Frances Osborne, in the *Traditional Memoirs on the Reign of King James*, says of it about 1610: 'It was the fashion of those times, and did so continue till these, (wherein not only the Mother, but her Daughters, are ruined,) for the principal Gentry, Lords, Courtiers and men of all Professions, not merely Mechanick, to meet in St. Paul's Church by eleven, and walk in the Middle Isle till twelve; and after dinner, from three to six: during which time, some discoursed of Business, others of News. Now, in regard of the universal commerce, there happened little that did not, first or last, arrive there. And I, being young, and wanting a more advantageous imployment, did, during my aboad in London, which was three fourth parts of the year, associate myself at those hours with the choicest company I could pick out.' John Earle says: '*Pauls Walke* is the Lands Epitome, or you may call it the lesser Ile of Great Brittaine. . . . It is a heape of stones

[1] Mrs. Stopes is printing these in her edition of Part IV. of Harrison's *England*.

OF ONE OF THE ABOVE 12 COMPANIES IS 1

a. Bushopsgate ſtreete
b. Paules
c. Alhallowes in the wall
d. S. Taphyns
e. Sylver ſtreete
f. Aldermanburye
g. Barbican
h. Aldersgate ſtreete
i. Charterhouſe
k. Holborne Conduit
l. Chauncery lane
m. Temple barr.
n. Holbourn
o. Grayes Inn Lane
p. S. Andrewes
q. Newgate
r. S. Iones
ſ. S. Nic ſhambds
t. Cheap ſyde
u. Bucklers burye
w. Bredeſtreete
x. The ſtockes
y. The Exchaunge
z. Cornehill

NORDEN'S MAP

LO. MAYOR OF THE CYTE COMENLY CHOSEN

[No. 1 not in Map]
2. *Colmanſtreete*
3. *Baſſings hall*
4. *Hounſditche*
5. *Leaden hall*
6. *Gratious ſtreete*
7. *Heneage houſe*
8. *Fanchurche*
9. *Marke lane*
10. *Minchyn lane*
11. *Paules*
12. *Eaſtcheape*
13. *Fleetſtreete*
14. *Fetter lane*
15. *S. Dunſtons*
16. *Themes ſtreete*
17. *London ſtone*
18. *Olde Baylye*
19. *Clerkenwell*
20. *Winchester houſe*
21. *Battle bridge*
22. *Bermodſoy ſtreete*

Ioannes Norden Anglus deſcripſit anno 1593

OF LONDON

and men, with a vast confusion of Languages, and, were the Steeple not sanctified, nothing liker Babel. The noyse in it is like that of Bees, a strange humming or buzzie,—mixt of walking, tongues and feet: It is a kind of still roare or loud whisper. It is the great Exchange of all discourse, and no busines whatsoeuer but is here stirring and afoot. It is the Synod of all pates politicke, ioynted and laid together in most serious posture, and they are not halfe so busie at the Parliament. . . . It is the generall mint of all famous lies. . . . All inuentions are emptyed here, and not a few pockets. The best signe of a Temple in it is, that it is the Theeues Sanctuary, which robbe more safely in the Croud, then a wildernesse, whilst every searcher is a bush to hide them. It is the other expence of the day, after Playes, Tauerne, and a Baudy-House, and men haue still some Oathes left to sweare here. . . . The Visitants are all men without exceptions, but the principall Inhabitants and possessors are stale Knights, and Captaines out of Seruice, men of long Rapiers, and Breeches, which after all turne merchants here, and trafficke for newes. Some make it a Preface to their Dinner, and Trauell for a Stomache: but thriftier men make it their Ordinarie: and Boord here verie cheape.'[1] Dekker is very satirical over the swagger and display to be seen in the middle aisle: 'Your mediterranean aisle,' he says, 'is then the only gallery, wherein the pictures of all your true fashionate and complimental Gulls are, and ought to be, hung up . . . Be circumspect and wary what pillar you come in at; and take heed in any case, as you love the reputation of your honour, that you avoid the serving-men's log, and approach not within five fathom of that pillar. . . . The Duke's tomb is a sanctuary, and will keep you alive from worms and land-rats, that long to be feeding on your carcass: there you may spend your legs in winter a whole afternoon; converse, plot, laugh, and talk anything; jest at your creditor, even to his

[1] Ed. Arber, 1895, 73.

face; and in the evening, even by lamp-light, steal out, and so cozen a whole covey of abominable catchpoles. . . . All the diseased horses in a tedious siege cannot shew so many fashions, as are to be seen for nothing, every day, in Duke Humphrey's Walk.'[1] Duke Humphrey's Walk was so named after Duke Humphrey's tomb which stood in it, but which was really the resting-place, not of Humphrey, but of Sir John Beauchamp, who died in the middle of the fourteenth century. The poor gallant who walkt thru the church in lieu of taking dinner at an ordinary was said, ironically, to have dined with Duke Humphrey.

Here, then, in the great aisle[2] London met: at one pillar waited the lawyers for their clients,—a practice which fell into desuetude; at another stood the poor serving-men, many of whom could have been hired for a small sum to give false witness and perform ill offices. Cutpurses in various disguises moved silently thru the crowd. Moneylenders there lured their victims into ruin. Gallants met their tailors there by appointment, and tailors arrived before midday to note the new fashions of the throng. Political spies hoverd about to glean news and discover secrets. Card-sharpers decoyd their innocent victims to neighboring taverns and robd them of everything. Every matter of passing interest and importance was discust there; all news was brought there and thence disseminated to every quarter of London. Drake's departure, in 1585, with his twenty-five ships for the Spanish main; his brilliant exploits at San Domingo and Carthagena; his return, laden with spoil, in 1586; the latest poem of Spenser's or play of Shakspere's, the achievements of Raleigh, the expeditions of Essex, the gigantic struggle of the Netherlands, the fall of Antwerp, the progress of Elizabeth at Kenilworth with all its days of mingled delights,[3]

[1] Ed. McKerrow, 1905, 40-44.

[2] A picture of the aisle is given in Wheatley, McKerrow, &c.

[3] For an account of these magnificent revels, see *Captain Cox, or Robert Laneham's Letter*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1871; new edition.

—these and all other tidings and matters, grave, gay and serious, were talkt of and heard of in St. Paul's Walk. In the middle of the churchyard stood the historic pulpit, St. Paul's Cross, from which were utterd so many speeches and sermons, and Papal Bulls, expressive in their changes of the history and progress of England. In the woodwork at the top of the great steeple men carvd their names. Morocco, the famous intelligent horse of Bankes', who was afterwards burnt in Italy for a witch, had been up there. The number of clerics in the neighborhood of Paul's from early times had attracted there the shops of the principal booksellers.

The Taverns of those days playd a great part in London life. Church business was often conducted in them and the church there often bought drink for its servants, till the advance of the Puritan spirit condemnd the Tavern. 'It is the busie mans recreation,' says Earle, 'the idle mans businesse, the melancholy mans Sanctuary, the Strangers welcome, the Innes a Court mans entertainment, the Scholers kindnesse, and the Citizens curtesie. It is the studie of sparkling wits, and a cup of Canary their booke, where we leaue them.'[1] The most famous of the taverns were the Apollo and Devil's tavern in Fleet Street, the Three Cranes in the Vintry, where the gipsies resorted, the Bear at Bridge Foot, the Mermaid in Bread Street, where Shakspere, Jonson, Beaumont and the wits held merry meetings, the Mitre in Cheap, the Woolsack and the King's Head in Fish Street. These were, for the most part, the better taverns where one could get bastard, alicant, upsy freeze and sack; the drawers waited on the guests with their cries of 'Anon, anon, sir,' like Francis in 1 *Henry IV.*;[2] and good country vicars on a journey to London resorted there with their companions to drink and eat. The

[1] Ed. Arber, 33.

[2] A song giving a fine picture of the taverns, with the practices of the taverners, the cries of the drawers, &c., is printed in the *Academy of Complements* of 1671: the song is, doubtless, of much earlier date.

taverns in the by-ways were dangerous and of ill-repute. Desperadoes and suspected men haunted them. Bullies and ruffians gambled and diced there with unsuspecting dupes, resorted to a hundred intricate cheating devices, and at the last, often knockt over the lights, upset the tables, and escaped with all they could seize in the confusion. Drunken revellers were stabd and robd. Duels, conducted in the new foreign style with rapiers, were hatcht there; intrigues between gallants and mistresses were conducted there. The taverners were sometimes in league with thieves, housed and protected them and receivd stolen goods. They put lime in their sack, used short measures, sold bad ale (for which the brewers were sometimes seen at the pillory) and overcharged their customers—a process which the gallants held it bad taste to challenge. 'When the terrible reckoning,' says Dekker, 'like an indictment, bids you hold up your hand, and that you must answer it at the bar, you must not abate one penny in the particular; no, though they reckon cheese to you, when you have neither eaten any, nor could ever abide it, raw or toasted: but cast your eye only upon the *totalis*, and no further; for to traverse the bill would betray you to be acquainted with the rates of the market.'[1] Men, in those times, dined often at the 'ordinaries,' of which there were kinds to suit all purses. At the most expensive, knights and men of Court resorted, discust the latest news and the newest book; at the meanest the poorer and less affable dined, generally without intercourse. After the dinner at the best ordinaries came wine; after the wine, cards; after the cards an afternoon at the theatre, or elsewhere, in pleasure. The diners smoked before their dinner and chatted sometimes of pipes and tobacco.[2]

Various parts of London were full of foreign shops; the Milaners of St. Martin's, who also sold jewels, periwigs, fans and ruffs, competed with the English sempstresses of the Exchange. There are Italian armourers, Dutch shoemakers, French dancing-masters, Italian

[1] *Horn Book*, ed. McKerrow, 73-4. [2] Thornbury, i. 173.

masters of fence, foreign bravoes. It is a vain and buoyant time, when there is some dash and danger in life, luxury is on the increase, and foreign articles of luxury are in many shops. There might have been seen handsome ruffles and silken hose for our gallant, silver spurs from Milan for his heels, jewels for his ears, French gloves for his hands, silken rosettes for his shoes, a heavy gold chain for his neck, gold-spangled bands and feathers for his French hat, a jeweld brooch for his silken doublet, a handsome dagger and gilt rapier for his embellisht girdle, Neapolitan perfumes for his beard and gay apparel, golden watches from Germany for his pocket, jeweld fans and Venetian mirrors for his mistress,—all from the lands over the sea. Our old friend Andrew Borde's description of his Englishman was more than ever true of Elizabeth's subjects:

> 'I am an English man, and naked I stand here,
> Musyng in my mynd what rayment I shal were;
> For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyll were that;
> Now I wyll were I cannot tel what.
> All new fashyons be plesaunt to me;
> I wyl haue them, whether I thryue or thee.
> Now I am a frysher, all men doth on me looke;
> What should I do, but set cocke on the hoope?
> What do I care, yf all the worlde me fayle?
> I wyll get a garment shal reche to my tayle;
> Than I am a minion, for I were the new gyse.
> The next yere after this I trust to be wyse,
> Not only in wering my gorgious aray,
> For I wyl go to learnyng a hoole somers day.'[1]

Borde's Englishman was, in truth, not half so gay as Elizabeth's. The fashions of all the foremost countries of Europe seem to have been concentrated in the latter's sumptuous person. His stockings were of orange- and peach-colord silk; his boots of Spanish leather; his cloak of some fair-hued silk, faced and trimd with lace; even his wristbands were of the Italian cut. This is what Dekker says of the tailors and fashions: 'Tailors then

[1] Andrew Borde's *Introduction of Knowledge*, 1542, ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1870, 116-7.

SHAKSPERE'S LONDON: BARBERS

[in Adam's days] were none of the twelve companies: their hall, that now is larger than some dorpes among the Netherlands, was then no bigger than a Dutch butcher's shop: they durst not strike down their customers with large bills; Adam cared not an apple-paring for all their lousy hems. There was then neither the Spanish slop, nor the skipper's galligaskin; the Switzer's blistered codpiece, nor the Danish sleeve sagging down like a Welsh wallet; the Italian's close strosser, nor the French standing collar: your treble-quadruple dædalian ruffs, nor your stiff-necked rabatos, that have more arches for pride to row under, than can stand under five London Bridges, durst not then set themselves out in print, for the patent for starch could by no means be signed.'[1] A considerable portion of our gallant's time must have been spent with the barber, who officiated in those times as master of dentistry and the surgical and tonsorial arts. The barber's shop was a favorite resort and debating place, where a guitar lay always ready for use. An interesting variety of styles were for the customer's selection. The poor man had his head trimd round like a cheese; the courtier could select from the Italian style, the French cut, the Spanish or the Dutch cut, the bravado fashion, the mean fashion, the gentlemen's cut, the common cut and the Court and country fashions.[2] The habit of smoking tobacco was greatly on the increase, denounced as it was by some in most forcible terms. Silver tongs and other elaborately ornate implements were treasurd accessories of the fashionable smoker, who often attended a profest master to acquire feats, such as blowing out rings. The dresses and devices of the women were as elaborate as those of the men. Sham hair was worn by some, face powders and paints were used. Jacob Rathgeb tells us that in England women had more liberty than in any other land, that they lovd fine clothes, ruffs and stuffs, and that some of them, tho' they had not a crust at home, would wear fine velvets in the public streets. From

[1] Ed. McKerrow, 18. [2] Thornbury, i. 48-9.

Van Meteren we derive further evidence on these points, and learn that the English wives lovd gossip, and meetings of all kinds, banquets, feasts, christenings, and so on, that they were 'beautiful, fair, well-dressed and modest,' that married women wore hats, and unmarried women none. 'Les femmes estimées,' says Perlin, 'sont les plus belles du monde, & blanches comme albatre, & ne desplaise aux Italianes, Flammandes, & Almandes: elles sont joyeuses & courtoyses, & de bon racueil.' We have changed a little since those old days. Hentzer remarks that the English exceld in dancing and music, that they were active and lively, and also that they were 'vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, and the ringing of bells, so that it is common for a number of them, that have got a glass in their heads, to go up into some belfry, and ring the bells for hours together, for the sake of exercise.'[1] (We doubt the *commonness* of the last item.) An artificial gallantry temperd by a genuine love of pure and beautiful womanhood and strong and noble manhood, pervaded polite society. Everywhere was color and dasn, true gallantry and splendid heroism mingled with sham and roguery, —a strong, happy world, capable, for all its hollow glitter, and its weaknesses, of bidding its formidable foes defiance and sweeping them off the seas.

The sports and games of the people were mostly out-of-doors. There was a tilt-yard at Regent's Park. The cruel sport of cock-fighting was indulged in to a great extent, and the rearing and training of the birds was a separate profession. There were running at the ring and quintain, fencing, and sword and buckler play. The citizens, for their relaxation, went to see the famed lions at the Tower, beheld the many pageants of the City, played bowls, practist archery, or went on excursions to Hoxton, Islington, or even Richmond. There were dancing-schools for all classes. In Southwark, in

[1] Harrison's *Description of England in Shakspere's Youth*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1877, pp. lxii., lxv., lxvi.

the Paris Garden, were the rings for the bear and bull baitings, the favorite resorts of Londoners. The din in the bear-ring was intolerable. A perpetual shouting, stamping, barking, shrieking, and yelling went on; and the name of the bear-garden is perpetuated for all time, in consequence, as descriptive of uproar and disorder. The bears, chaind to their stakes, were worried by great dogs, who were often injured or killd. Blind bears were whipt till they bled, driven furious by the blows, and sometimes in their wild endeavors seizd their assailants. In all this the spectators took delight; it was rough and noisy, and it suited them: betting and fighting were common incidents of the 'sport.' The show was varied by the antics of monkeys on the backs of ponies, swordplay, and even juggling. To these rings foreign ambassadors and distinguisht guests were taken. The richer men had hawking and hunting for their sports,—the former developt into a science with many branches, in breeding, taming, training, and using the birds. All classes playd cards and dice, except the Puritans, and all except them gambled. Fencing, with its necessary consequence in hot-blooded times, duelling, playd a large part in Elizabethan life. All men went armd. The duel was the natural outcome and termination of all quarrels and insults, generally fought in the fields about London, but often over the sea, near Calais. The language of the gallants who attended the fencing-school was distinguisht greatly by its phraseology.

The dress of the different citizens and gentles markt their classes. The needy and the opulent rubd shoulders almost, in the social functions of the city, the rich tradesman with the scented courtier, the player with the grave lawyer; but there was no true intercourse beyond this. With the exception of the rogues, who assumed all manner of disguises, a man was as his dress denoted him; he belongd to a class with a recognised status, with recognised rights and liberties. The declarations of Shakspere in *Troilus and Cressida* concerning

government, and the recognition of the proper order of the different ranks of men, are essentially those of one who has observd and considerd the orderd condition of Elizabethan society, where things followd greatly by settled prescription, and nothing was expected to exist independent of the government's cognisance and arrangement.[1] Courtly ceremony and titles of respect were not then merely complimentary matters of show, but also the tacit national recognition and acceptance of a certain gradated condition of society and a certain principle of government.

The condition of the Elizabethan highways is not to be envied by us Edwardians. The roads themselves were often bad outside the cities, and within were very narrow. The country lanes were infested with gipsies and wandering rascals of every kind, who haunted the fairs, and to whom the unwary were a prey. The abolition of the monasteries had not only, in its effects upon land-tenure and agriculture, tended to increase this army of vagrants, but had destroyd those very institutions which had provided for them by organised charity: this great army of vagabonds and rascals was, therefore, let loose more than ever on Elizabethan society; this was one of the gravest evils of the time.[2]

[1] Those who agree with Tolstoy in condemning Shakspere for his attitude towards the proletariat, should consider the age in which the poet livd, and its ideas of government, the condition of the people then, greatly different to our own, and above all, the ideas of the poet's contemporaries concerning the masses. In the old play of *Respublica*, 'People' is a very poor figure, whose principal virtue is that he respects and obeys his superiors. Compare, too, Harrison's division of society into four sorts, gentlemen, citizens or burgesses, yeomen, and artificers or laborers. The gentlemen consist of princes, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons; knights, esquires, and lastly simple gentlemen; and so on down to the 'common people': 'This fourth and last sort of people therefore have neither voice nor authority in the commonwealth, but are to be ruled and not to rule other,' &c.—(Harrison's *England*, ed. Furnivall.) The references of others are less complimentary. We cannot blame Shakspere for not holding the political ideals of the twentieth century.

[2] For an account of the ragged army of Shakspere's day I refer

SHAKSPERE'S LONDON: THEATRES

The theatre was the resort of all classes, except the Puritans, who condemnd it utterly. Our gallant resorted there, smoked, and, seated in the boxes or on stools set on the green rushes of the stage, displayd his apparel to the commons. The commons themselves appear to have been almost as turbulent and unruly in the theatre as in the bear-garden, the one being to them merely a rival show to the other. Edibles were consumed and ale was drunk while the plays proceeded, and the greatest noise seems, sometimes, to have prevaild. Years before Shakspere came to London, plays had been acted by companies in the metropolis. The condition of Elizabethan society which permitted no underling to remain undetacht, necessitated the players' maintenance of a connexion with the nobles whose 'servants' they were publicly declared to be. The old companies performd in the yards of the large inns where the various classes of men were wont to resort. The authorities seem to have had early a disposition to discourage the theatrical companies; and in the year of her accession, Elizabeth issued a proclamation designd, doubtless, to dispose of some of the objectionable irregularities in connexion with the stage, its import being to prevent plays without licence. The days, however, were dangerous days of plague, and the Puritanic spirit was on the increase, and in 1572 the plays were interdicted. But a recognised class of actors were by this time dependent for their livelihood on the traffic of the stage, and, with the known predilection of Elizabeth and the nobles for the drama, it is not surprising that in 1574 the Queen granted James Burbage and four fellows of the Earl of Leicester's company a special licence to perform. In 1575, the Mayor and Corporation of London, ostensibly tremulous because of the plague,

the reader to Viles and Furnivall's *Rogues and Vagabonds of Shakspere's Youth;* Awdeley's *Fraternitye of Vacabondes;* and Harman's *Caveat,* new edition (Chatto), 1907. The investigations of my friend F. Aydelotte, M.A., B.Litt., will, when publisht, add greatly to our knowledge.

but probably possest of an antipathy to the players, banisht all the companies from London. The players then, perforce, deserted the courtyards of the city inns, and must have repaird to those outside the city's jurisdiction. This condition of affairs led to a step of great importance in the history of the drama and English literature—the building of the first playhouse. James Burbage was for some time a joiner by profession, and became a player, doubtless, by inclination : the city being closed to him by the authorities, and the liking for plays being apparently on the increase, Burbage decided to build a permanent theatre outside the walls. A favorable spot presented itself in the Liberty of Holywell in the parish of Shoreditch, a locality associated with the festivities of the people from earliest times, near the drill-ground of the city forces, the ancient Priory of Holywell and the sacred well itself which gave the Liberty its name.[1] This district was a favorite resort of the people when they were bent on play. The 'Theatre,' as the new house was named, (probably from the movable stage it containd) stood on the ground of Giles Allen; it was circular, built of wood, was decorated, had scaffolds or stages around the arena, and was open at the top to the weather—arrangements which showd the influence of the traditional circular form of places for theatrical and athletic shows, and the inn-yards where the companies first acted.[2] The stage was movable because the Theatre was not given up entirely to plays, for tumbling, vaulting, fencing, and other shows were given there, during some of which, at least, the stage would be removed.[3] Soon after the opening of the Theatre, a similar building, the 'Curtain,' calld after the land on which it was built, was erected in the near vicinity. Meanwhile, the prejudice against plays was growing in some quarters: the city authorities, still fearful because of the plague, gave evidence frequently of their

[1] Fairman Ordish, *Early London Theatres*, 1894, 37.
[2] *Ib.*, 50. [3] *Ib.*, 46, 48.

antipathy to the playhouses; but the lords of the council were for them and stood the actors' friends. Plays were still going on in the inn-yards.[1] The Theatre and the Curtain were the butts for all the arrows of Puritan satire and abuse.[2] In 1583 the Mayor once more exprest himself somewhat forcibly concerning the 'profane spectacles' at the playhouses. The lords, and probably the Queen, however, were not disposed to acquiesce in the suppression of a craft in which they took delight, and Sir Francis Walsingham accordingly gatherd together the best actors of the various companies, and principally those of Burbage's (the Earl of Leicester's servants), and enrolld them under the Master of the Revels as the Queen's Players in 1583. Of this company Shakspere became a member. Other playhouses subsequently sprang up after the example of the Theatre; there were the Blackfriars, the Whitefriars, the Fortune in Golden Lane, the Cockpit in Drury Lane, and the Hope, Swan and Rose, small public playhouses. The Theatre itself, in consequence of difficulty with the ground landlord, Allen, in 1598, was pulld down,

[1] There were itinerant companies as well, of all kinds, and of all sorts of fortune. Dekker refers to these strolling players: 'Players they bee, who out of an ambition to weare the *Best Jerkin* (in a *Strowling Company*) or to Act *Great Parts*, forsake the stately and our more than *Romaine* Cittie Stages, to travel upon the hard hoofe from village to village for cheese and butter-milke' (*The Bel-man of London*, 1608, Dent's Temple Edn., 81).

[2] All comments, of course, were not unfavorable. The later Florio said in his *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611): 'The plaies that they do plaie in England are neither right Comedies nor right Tragedies; but representations of Histories without any decorum.' But the earlier Fynes Moryson said in 1592 (p. 476): 'The Citty of London alone hath foure or flue Companyes of players with their peculiar Theaters capable of many thousands, wherein they play euery day in the week but Sunday, with most strong concourse of people, besydes many strange toyes and farces exposed by signes to be seen in priuate houses, to which and to many musterings and other frequent spectacles the people flocke in great numbers, being naturally more newe-fangled then the Athenians to heare newes and gaze vpon euery toye. As there be, in my opinion, more Playes in London then in all the partes of the world I have seene, so doe these players or Comedians excell all others in the worlde.'

and rebuilt with the old materials by Cuthbert and Richard Burbage (sons of James), and Peter Street, a carpenter, in the Bankside, where it was destined to achieve still greater fame under the name of the 'Globe.'[1]

There was a good deal of wrong and roguery in this old London, a good deal of nobility and greatness. For the condition of the people, economic and social changes which affected the city, the withholding of corn, plague, unjust magistrates, increasing luxury, drunkenness, see Harrison's *England*. Read there that, in contrast to the turbulent and rascally substratum of society, 'both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficientlie liberall, and verie freendlie at their tables; and when they meet, they are so merie without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or French craft and subtiltie, that it would doo a man good to be in companie among them.' For the beautifu women of the Court, turn to Spenser's *Colin Clout's Come Home Again;* for the strife and envy of the Court, to the same poem; for the splendid men of the Court, turn to the history of England, where their names are written large; for the rascals, read Spenser's *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, Harman's *Caveat*, and Dekker's *Bel-man of London*, &c. For the Puritan view, from which much is to be learnt, see Stubbes, Northbrooke, and their fellows; for the satirists read Dekker, Earle, &c. All these show us a London which is indeed the heart of England, throbbing responsively to the great events which endangerd or ennobled the national life. The exploits of bold navigators sailing round Africa to Asia, and across the Atlantic to America; the fearless excursions in the Spanish seas of hardy fighting-men who returnd triumphant; the struggle for independence in the Netherlands against the power of Spain; the resistance of the Pope's pretensions; the assertion of national independence, self-reliance, audacious defiance in the face of danger: —all these things had their immediate effects and

[1] Ordish, 75-6.

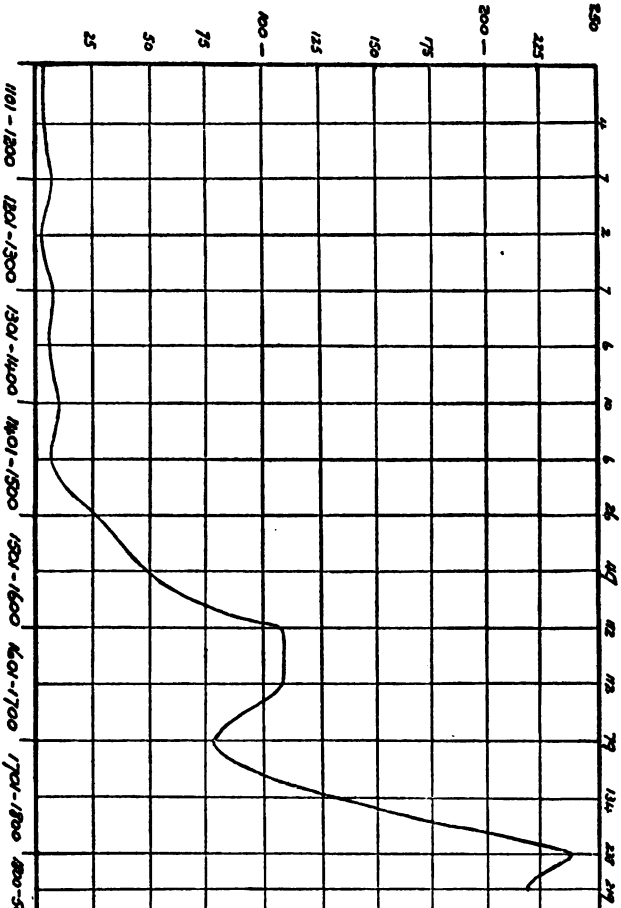
consequences, and often their origins, in this walld London set in the green fields.

Here, then, in 1587 or before,[1] from his rural Stratford on the Avon, came our William Shakspere. London was in jubilation. The plot of Thomas Babington against the beloved Queen, whose accession had meant the cessation of the evils of Mary's reign, had been discoverd by Walsingham, the players' friend. Mary Queen of Scots was implicated. Babington was executed in September, 1586; Mary was beheaded at Fotheringay on February 8, 1587. The bells of London were rung and bonfires lit in exultation. Mary's execution was defiance to Rome and Spain, the powerful foes of England,—a defiance which had its aggressive results. On the 26th of June, 1587, Drake saild into Plymouth Harbor after a voyage of fighting and victory, rich with the spoils of Spain. Spain sought reparation. In the May of 1588 the Great Armada set sail for England with its 132 ships and its 33,000 men. When it arrived in the Channel 17,000 soldiers from the Netherlands would join forces with it. But the Armada faild. In October, 1588, the poor remainder of this mighty host got back to Spain. It had united England. The clarion note of triumph which resounds thru the Second Period plays of Shakspere is the echo only of the outburst of patriotic feeling, devotion and love for the 'precious stone set in the silver sea,' which Englishmen felt for England;—a feeling which increast, in spite of the plague and other evils, and found outlet on such occasions as Essex's departure for Ireland, when the confidence, patriotism and martial fervor of London were denoted in Shakspere's *Henry V.*

The Elizabethan age stood high in general level of intellect over preceding times. From the Norman Conquest to the middle of the fifteenth century, genius and conspicuous ability were rare exceptions. But already in Chaucerian days the spirit of Humanism and the Renascence, which was to lift the minds of men, began

[1] The date is sometimes put as early as 1582.

to assert itself. Increasing prosperity, and, in England, to some degree, increasing national independence and unity, assisted in disseminating culture and knowledge. The whole of the sixteenth century shows a truly marvellous uplifting, which culminates at the beginning of the seventeenth, and maintains a level for fifty years. The early part of this level, with the rise to it which took place at the end of the sixteenth century, is the Shaksperian age. The following curve, which takes no consideration of increase or decrease of population (for which changes allowance should be made, where possible) shows clearly the rise and fall in the number of individuals of genius and eminent ability from 1101 to 1830. It is made from statistics supplied by Havelock Ellis in his valuable *Study of British Genius*, 1904, p. 12, which book is based on a thoro' study of the *Dictionary of National Biography*.



Curve showing rise and fall in the number of British individuals of genius and eminent ability from 1101, by periods of 50 years, to 1830.

CHAPTER THREE

Development of Shakspere's Works and their Succession

Writing in 1877, I had to complain that it was a question that had not been yet enough attended to in England—involving, as it did, the cure of the great defect of the English school of Shaksperians — their neglect to study Shakspere as a whole. They had too much lookt on his works as a conglomerate of isolated plays, without order or succession, bound together only by his name, and the covers of the volume that containd them. Whereas the first necessity was to regard Shakspere as a whole, his works as a living organism, each a member of one created unity, the whole a tree of healing and of comfort to the nations, a growth from small beginnings to mighty ends, the successive shoots of one great mind, which can never be seen in its full glory of leaf, and blossom, and fruit, unless it be viewd in its oneness. Certain it is that no one work of Shakspere's, or any other man's, can be rightly and fully valued and understood, unless it is set by his other works, and its relation to them made out, the progress of his mind up to that point followd, and the advance of it afterwards ascertaind. This process can alone enable the student to get the full yield out of the play or the author he studies; while it gives him quite a new interest in the author's works, by the light it casts on the history of that author's mind. The getting Shakspere's plays into the nearest possible approach to their right order of writing, is thus a matter of first importance to all students of our great poet.

The evidence for this order is twofold—from without, and from within.

a. That from without, consists of (1) Entries of Poems and Plays, before or on publication, by publishers, in the *Registers* of the Stationers' Company incorporated by Queen Mary in 1557, of which the book-entries from 1557 to 1640 have been printed by Prof. E. Arber in five vols., 4to. (2) The publications of the Poems and Plays. (3) Allusions in contemporary books, diaries, letters, &c. These give the date at which the poem or play must have been in existence, though it may have been written long before.

Nos. 1 and 2. The *Stationers' Registers*, and publication, date sufficiently for us two Poems, and six Plays, all printed in Shakspere's lifetime except *As You Like It*, which, tho' not expressly dated 1600, is in such a place in the *Stationers' Registers* that no other year than 1600 can be meant. *See* Arber's *Transcript*, iii. 37:[1]

enterd	{ *Venus and Adonis* }	1593;	*Lucrece*	1594;	1 *Hen. IV.*	1597;	*Much Ado*,	1600;			
publisht	„	1593;	„	—;	„	1598;	„	—;			
enterd	*Hamlet*	1602;	*Lear*	1607;	mentioning	1606;	*Pericles*	1608;			
publisht	„	1603, 1604;	„	1608;			„	1609[2]			

No. 3. Allusions in contemporary books, &c., date for us five Plays: *Romeo and Juliet*, before 1595; *Julius Cæsar*, 1601; *Twelfth Night*, February, 1602; *Winter's Tale*, 1611; *Henry VIII.*, 1613. The authorities are as

[1] "4 Augusti" [1600]. The year is fixt by the subsequent entries [of *Henry V.*] at p. 169 and [*Much Ado* and 2 *Hen. IV.*] at p. 170. "*As you like yt* | a booke. *Henry the Fift* | a booke. *Every Man in his humour* | a booke. The comedie of *muche a doo about nothing* | a booke."

[2] The other dates of publication (and entry) are as follows. All are stard to imply that the works they date were written earlier, and my conjecturd dates follow:—

1594. Titus Andronicus (? toucht by Shakspere) (? 1593)
(1594. *A Shrew*, the basis of *The* Shrew)
(1594. *Contention*, the basis of 2 Hen. VI.) } ? bef. 1590
(1595. *True Tragedy*, the basis of 3 Hen. VI.)
* 1597. Romeo and Juliet - - - - (? 1591-3)
* 1597. Richard II. - - - - - - (? 1594)

follows:—Weever's Sonnet in his *Epigrammes*, 1595:—"*Romeo-Richard;* more, whose names I know not," &c, Weever's *Mirror of Martyrs*, 1601, for *Julius Cæsar:*

> The many-headed multitude were drawne
> By Brutus' speech, that Cæsar was ambitious;
> When eloquent Mark Antonie had showne
> His vertues, who but Brutus then was vicious?"

There is no such scene in Plutarch's Life of Cæsar, which was Shakspere's original, so that no doubt Weever alluded to Shakspere's play.

Manningham's *Diary* (Camden Society, 1868, ed. J. Bruce, p. 18: Manningham was a barrister of the Middle Temple) for *Twelfth Night:*—

"Feb. 2, 1601[-2].

"At our feast, wee had a play called Twelve Night, or What You Will. Much like the Comedy of Errors, or Menechmi in Plautus; but most like and neere to that in Italian called Inganni. A good practise in it to make the steward beleive his lady widowe was in love with him, by counterfayting a letter as from his lady in general termes, telling him what she liked best in him, and prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparaile, &c., and then when he came to practise, making him believe they took him to be mad," &c. This external evidence is confirmd by the internal. The new map with the

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* 1597.	Richard III. - - - - - -	(? 1594)
* 1598.	Love's Labour's Lost - - -	(? 1589)
* 1599.	Passionate Pilgrim - - -	(? 1589-99)
* 1600.	2 Henry IV. - - - - - -	(? 1597-8)
* 1600.	Henry V. - - - - - - -	1599
* 1600.	Midsummer-Night's Dream - -	(? 1591-3)
* 1600.	Merchant of Venice (ent d. 1598) -	(? 1596)
* 1602.	Merry Wives (ent'd. 1601) - - -	(? 1598-9)
* 1609.	Sonnets - - - - - - - -	(? 1593-1608)
* 1609.	Troilus and Cressida (ent d. 1608) -	(? 1606-7)
* 1622.	Othello - - - - - - - -	(? 1604)
* 1623.	Other Plays: first Folio - - -	(? 1588-1613)

A Lover's Complaint, printed in 1609, at the end of Shakspere's *Sonnets*, I once believd spurious, but now accept Delius's declaration that it is an early genuine work.

augmentation of the Indies, to which Maria refers in *Twelfth Night*, is an allusion to the new map of the world publisht at that time in Hakluyt's *Voyages*.[1]

Dr. Forman's Diary, in No. 208 of the Ashmole MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, art. 12, for *Winter's Tale*, says, "In the Winters Talle at the glob, 1611, the 15 of maye,"[2] and,—his spelling being modernised:—"Observe thee how Leontes, the King of Sicilia, was overcome with jealousy of his wife, with the King of Bohemia, his friend that came to see him, and how he contrived his death, and would have had his cup-bearer to have poisoned [Bohemia], who gave the King of Bohemia warning thereof, and fled with him to Bohemia. Remember also how he sent to the Oracle of Apollo, and the answer of Apollo, that she was guiltless, and that the king was jealous, &c.; and how except the child was found again that was lost, the king should die without issue: for the child was carried into Bohemia, and there laid in a forest, and brought up by a shepherd; and the King of Bohemia's son married that wench; and how they fled in[to] Sicilia to Leontes, and the shepherd having showed the letter of the nobleman by whom Leontes sent away that child, and the jewels found about her, she was known to be Leontes' daughter, and was then sixteen years old."

For *Henry VIII.* 1. Thomas Lorkin's letter, in the Harleian MS. 7002 (British Museum), to Sir Thomas Puckering, dated "London, this last of June, 1613":—

"No longer since than yesterday [June 29], while Bourbage his company were acting at the Globe the play of Henry VIII., and there shooting of certayne chambers

[1] *See* Mr. Coates' Paper in *New Shaks. Soc.'s Trans.*

[2] The entries in Black's Catalogue, col. 169, are "*12. The Bocke of Plaies and Notes thereof per FORMANS for common pollicie." (leaf) 200. This book was begun a few months before his death, and contains notes of only four plays which he witnessed; namely—"In Richard the 2 [not Sh.'s] at the glob, 1611, the 30 of Aprill." 201. "In the Winters Talle at the glob, 1611, the 15 of maye." 201b-2. "Of Cinobelin, King of England." 206. "In Mackbeth at the glob, 1610, the 20 of aprill." 207-7b.—*New Shaks. Soc.'s Trans.*, 1875-6.

[small cannon or mortars] in way of triumph, the fire catched," &c.—*Singer.*

2. John Chamberlaine's letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated London, 8th July, 1613, in *Winwood's Memorials* vol. iii., p. 469:—

"But the burning of *The Globe*,[1] or *Playhouse*, on the Bankside, on St. Peter's Day [June 29], cannot escape you; which fell out by a peal of *chambers* (that I know not upon what occasion were to be used in the play), the tampin or stopple of one of them lighting in the thatch that covered the house, burn'd it to the ground in less than two hours, with a dwelling-house adjoining; and it was a great marvaile and faire grace of God that the people had so little harm, having but two narrow doors to get out at."—*Singer.*

The burning of the Globe is mentiond also by Howes, in his continuation of Stowe's *Annales*, ed. 1631, p. 926; but Sir Hy. Wotton, in his account of it (*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 452, ed. 1685), says that the play was "a new play called *All is true*."[2]

(*b*) The evidence of date from within the plays

[1] Built in 1599 out of materials of the *Theatre* (*see* p. 56 above). It was rebuilt in 1613, after the fire. (*See* frontispiece to *Pericles*.)

[2] Besides these, Francis Meres, in his] *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, gives us the downward dates of some of Shakspere's Sonnets (the whole were publisht in 1699), of 6 Comedies and 6 Tragedies:—

"As the soule of *Euphorbus* was thought to liue in *Pythagoras*: so the sweete wittie soule of *Ouid* liues in mellifluous and hony-tongued *Shakespeare*, witnes his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred Sonnets among his priuate friends, &c.

"As *Plautus* and *Seneca* are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines: so *Shakespeare* among ye English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witnes his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Loue labors lost*, his *Loue labours wonne* [most likely the play recast as *All's Well that Ends Well*], his *Midsummers night dreame*, and his *Merchant of Venice*: for Tragedy, his *Richard the* 2., *Richard the* 3., *Henry the* 4., *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, and his *Romeo and Juliet*."—New Shaks. Soc.'s *Allusion-Books*, p. 159. Allusions in other books also give downward dates for plays, as John Weever, 1595, for "*Romeo-Richard*"; Robert Tofte, 1598, for "*Loves labour lost*"; Jn. Marston, 1598, for *Richard III.*; Primlyco, 1609, *Pericles*; J. W. von Vendenheym, April 30, 1610, for *Othello*, &c.

is (1) from allusions in them to past or contemporary events, &c. These date positively only one play, *Henry V.*, which in l. 30 of its Prologue to Act V. (p. 154) refers to the Earl of Essex, then in command of the Queen's army in Ireland:—

> "But now behold,
> In the quick forge and working-house of thought,
> How London doth pour out her citizens!
> The mayor, and all his brethren, in best sort,—
> Like to the senators of th' antique Rome,
> With the plebeians swarming at their heels,—
> Go forth, and fetch their conquering Cæsar in:
> As, by a lower but loving likelihood,
> Were now *the general of our gracious empress,*
> As in good time he may, *from Ireland, coming,*
> Bringing rebellion broachd upon his sword,
> How many would the peaceful city quit,
> To welcome him! much more, and much more cause,
> Did they this Harry."

And there can be little doubt that the Prologue to Act I. also refers to the newly-built wooden (O or) Globe Theatre, opend in 1599. See p. 56, above:—

> "Can this cockpit hold
> The vasty fields of France? or may we cram
> Within *this wooden O,* the very casques
> That did affright the air of Agincourt?"

But the date of one other play may also be taken as decided by an allusion in it. And that is *Romeo and Juliet,* by the Nurse's words as to Juliet's age:—

> "Come Lammas-eve at night, shall she be fourteen.
> Susan and she,—God rest all Christian souls!—
> Were of an age.—Well, Susan is with God;
> She was too good for me. But, as I said,
> On Lammas-eve at night shall she be fourteen;
> That shall she, marry; I remember it well.
> *'Tis since the earthquake now eleven years;*
> And she was weaned,—I never shall forget it,—
> Of all the days of the year, upon that day."
>
> —I. iii. pp. 37-8.

Now the great earthquake of Shakspere's time—to which he also probably refers in *Venus and Adonis*—was on April 6, 1580. And, unless Juliet was suckled till she was between two and three, the Nurse's eleven

years should be thirteen. This gives either 1591 or 1593 for the date of the play, and as it must be close to *Venus and Adonis*—enterd and publisht 1593,—either date may be held for it, tho' I incline to put it before *Venus and Adonis* rather than after it.[1]

Thus far, then, we have trustworthy dates[2] for two Poems (*Venus and Adonis*, 1593; *Lucrece*, 1594) and eleven Plays: *Romeo and Juliet*, 1591-3; 1 *Henry IV.*, 1597; *Henry V.*, 1599; *As You Like It* and *Much Ado*, 1600; *Twelfth Night*, 1602; *Hamlet*, 1602-4; *Lear*, 1606; *Pericles*, 1608; *Winter's Tale*, 1611; *Henry VIII.*, 1613.

(2.) And for the dates, or rather the order, of the rest, twenty-six of Shakspere's thirty-seven Plays—eighteen printed during his life, and nineteen after his death (excluding *The Two Noble Kinsmen*),—as well as part of his Sonnets, we are thrown back on the second part of the Evidence from Within, the Style and Temper of the works.

Let us first take the point of Metre, in which Shakspere was changing almost play by play, during his whole life. Here are two passages from plays of his youth and his age.[3] Just read them, and see which has the formality of the beginner, which the ease and flow of the practist writer:—

[1] *As You Like It* is sometimes said to be dated 1601 by the allusion in Act IV., sc. i., p. 106, where Rosalind, chaffing Orlando, says, "I will weep for nothing, like *Diana in the fountain*, and I will do that when you are disposed to be merry." Careless referers to Stowe's *Survay*, 1598, revised 1603, have interpreted the removal of the old timber cross at the top of the stone Eleanor Cross, after December 24, 1600, to imply the removal also of what was set up on its east side in 1596, "a curiously wrought tabernacle of grey marble, and in the same an image alabaster of *Diana*, and water conveyed from the Thames prilling from her naked breast for a time, but now decayed."—Thoms's reprint, p. 100, col. 2. The allusion in *The Comedy of Errors*, III. ii. p. 61, to France making war against her heir, gives only the vague date of 1584-89, or 1584-93. *See* the Introduction to that play.

[2] I say 'trustworthy dates, because the external evidence is confirmd by the internal.

[3] The *Winter's Tale* extract is substituted by Munro for the *Henry VIII.* one which I originally printed, as I now doubt whether it is Shakspere's.

EARLY AND LATE WORK CONTRASTED

The Comedie of Errors, I. i. 99–121, p. 88 [Folio text].

"*Merch.* Oh, had the gods done so, I had not now
Worthily termd them merciless to us!
For ere the ships could meet by twice five leagues,
We were encounterd by a mighty rock,
Which being violently borne up[on],
Our helpful ship was splitted in the midst;
So that, in this unjust divorce of us,
Fortune had left to both of us alike,
What to delight in, what to sorrow for.
Her part, poor soul, seeming as burdend
With lesser weight, but not with lesser woe,
Was carried with more speed before the wind;
And in our sight they three were taken-up
By fishermen of Corinth, as we thought.
At length another ship had seizd on us,
And, knowing whom it was their hap to save,
Gave healthful welcome to their ship-wrackt guests,
And would have reft the fishers of their prey,
Had not their bark been very slow of sail;
And therefore homeward did they bend their course.
Thus have you heard me severd from my bliss,
That by misfortunes was my life prolongd,
To tell sad stories of my own mishaps."

The Winter's Tale, IV. iii.

Cam. He's irremov | able,
Resolvd for flight. Now were I happy, *if* wk.
His going I could frame to serve my turn,
Save him from danger, do him love and hon | or,
Purchase the sight again of dear Sicil | ia,
And that unhappy king, my master, *whom* l.
I so much thirst to see.
Flo. Now, good Camill | o,
I am so fraught with curious business, *that* wk.
I leave out ceremony.
Cam. Sir, I think,
You have heard of my poor services i' the love
That I have borne your father?
Flo. Very no | bly
Have you deservd; it is my father's mu | sic,
To speak your deeds; not little of his care,
To have them recompenst as thought on.
Cam. Well, | my lord,
If you may please to think I love the king,
And through him, what's near'st to him, which *is* l.
Your gracious self, embrace but my direc | tion,
If your more ponderous and settled pro | ject
May suffer alteration,—on mine hon | or,
I'll point you where you shall have such receiv | ing
As shall become your highness; where you *may* l.
Enjoy your mistress—

COMPARISON OF EARLY AND LATE WORK

Is it not plain that the *Errors* lines are the work of the novice, the *Winter's Tale* ones of the traind artist, with full command of his material, who has learnt how to conceal his art? Compare the formal structure of the first, with the ease and varied pauses of the second. Note in the *Errors* passage, how every line but three dwells on the last word, has a pause after it (tho' with three central pauses too), while in the *Winter's Tale* one, of twenty-one full lines, not only do nine run on into the next line, with central pauses here and there, but also, to facilitate this running-on, we have in five lines a light (l.) or weak (wk.) ending at the last word: this, to get the freedom and ease of natural talk.[1] Note again that the *Errors* lines have all ten syllables or five iambic measures, while in the *Winter's Tale* eleven lines have an extra or eleventh syllable and one a twelfth, to break the monotony of the verse.

[1] Of course in the early plays there 'll be some passages with all run-on lines, &c., and in the late plays some passages with all end-stopt lines, &c., but in each case these do not give the general character of the metre of the play they occur in. Here is an exceptional specimen of the run-on line and central pause in *Romeo and Juliet*, II. vi. p. 85:—

> "*Rom.* Ah, Juliet, if the measure of thy joy
> Be heaped like mine, and that thy skill be more
> To blazon it, then sweeten with thy breath
> This neighbour air, and let rich music's tongue
> Unfold the imagined happiness that both
> Receive in either by this dear encounter."

Any poet wanting ease *must* kick those end-stops out of his way, as any dramatic poet *must* get rid of the clogs of ryme, the source of so much padding and fudge in verse, since it makes men say only what they can, not what they would. My friend Mr. Hargrove adds: "When Shakspere began to write, he and his fellow playwrights were but learning the use of blank verse, and for a time they write as men but just set free from shackles would walk; they rid themselves easily enough of the fetters of ryme, but cannot without much practice and some boldness get over the habits acquired during the wearing of them. Now, ryme imposes four conditions; (1) the first and essential one is the recurrence of the same or similar sounds; but this happens in all speech or writing: in order that it may be prominent, we must add (2) that the recurrence be at regular intervals, *i.e.* that each ryme line be of the same number of syllables, and (3) that the syllable containing the

COMPARISON OF EARLY AND LATE WORK

Just compare then the percentages of these characteristics :—

Run-on lines	*Errors*	3 in 23, or 1 in 7·66
	Winter's Tale ...	9 in 21, or 1 in 2·3
Extra-syllable	*Errors*	0
	Winter's Tale ...	12 in 21, or 1 in 1·75
Weak endings	*Errors*	0
	Winter's Tale ...	5 in 21, or 1 in 4·2

Note again that in Shakspere's earliest genuine play, *Love's Labour's Lost*, as compared with three of his latest, the proportions of ryming 5-measure lines to blank-verse ones are as follows :—

Love's Labour's Lost..	1,028 ryme, to 579 blank, or 1 to ·56
The Tempest	2 ryme, to 1,458 blank, or 1 to 779
Winter's Tale	0 ryme,[1] to 1,825 blank, or 1 to infinity

So the proportion of end-unstopt lines to end-stopt ones in three of the earliest and latest plays is as follows :—

EARLIEST PLAYS	RUN
Love's Labour's Lost	1 in 18·14
The Comedy of Errors	1 in 10·7
The Two Gentlemen of Verona ..	1 in 10·
LATEST PLAYS	**RUN**
The Tempest	1 in 3·02
Cymbeline	1 in 2·52
The Winter's Tale...	1 in 2·12[2]

recurring sound be a marked one, that is, be accented; this last condition carries with it (4) that a pause, greater or less, must follow the ryming syllables, and therefore be at the end of each line. We get thus four tests of gradual growth from ryming plays, in which the meaning is forced to conform to metre, to those in which the metre is a mere accompaniment, secondary to and harmonising with the meaning: (1) Disuse of ryme; (2) Lines of more or fewer than the prescribed number of syllables; (3) Lines ending with syllables on which the voice does not dwell (called *light endings*) or cannot dwell (called *weak endings*); (4) Run-on lines, or such as suffer no pause to be made at the end."

[1] Possibly *hen*, *men*, IV. iv. 771-2 (p. 131), are meant to ryme.

[2] My friend Professor Dowden says: "As characteristic of these early plays, we may notice—(i), frequency of ryme, in various arrangements: (*a*) rymed couplets, (*b*) rymed quatrains, (*c*) the sextain, consisting of an alternately ryming quatrain, followed by a couplet (the arrangement of the last six lines of Shakspere's Sonnets); (ii), occurrence of rymed doggrel verse in two forms, (*a*) very short

Note, too, the frequency with which Shakspere in his later plays employs the central pause,—not at all in the passage cited from the *Errors*, but with remarkable regularity in all the later plays. Compare the *Winter's Tale*, V. i. p. 150 :

"I thought of her,
Even in these looks I made. | —But your petition
Is yet unanswered. | I will to your father :
Your honor not o'erthrown by your desires,
I am a friend to them and you ; | upon which errand
I now go toward him. | Therefore, follow me,
And mark what way I make : | come, good my lord."

Now these changes in Shakspere's metre are not accidental.[1] They are undesignd outward signs of his inward growth. They were accompanied by other changes in style and temper that markt the progress of Shakspere's mind and spirit. He soon gave up the doggrel, the excessive word-play, the quip and crank, of his early plays, their puns, conceits, and occasional bombast, their use of stanzas[2] in the dialogue ; he put his early superabundant use of fancy more and more under the control of the higher imagination and of straight aim ; he subdued the rhetoric of his historical plays ; he changed the chaff, the farce, the whim, of his early comedies, into the death-struggle of the

lines, and (*b*) very long lines ; (iii), comparative infrequency of feminine or double ending ; (iv), weak ending ; (v), unstopped line ; (vi), regular internal structure of the line : extra syllables seldom packed into the verse ; (vii), frequency of classical allusions ; (viii), frequency of puns and conceits ; (ix), wit and imagery drawn out in detail to the point of exhaustion ; (x), clowns who are, by comparison with the later comic characters, outstanding persons in the play, told off specially for clownage ; (xi), the presence of termagant or shrewish women ; (xii), soliloquies addressed rather to the audience (to explain the business of the piece, or the motives of the actors) than to the speaker's self ; (xiii), symmetry in the grouping of persons."—*Growth of Shakspere's Mind and Art*, p. 59 (with the *h* taken out of its *rhyme*, A.-Sax., *rim ;* Chaucer, *rym* n., *ryme* vb.).

[1] Some overgrown children still pooh-pooh them altogether.

[2] One of the fifteenth-century Digby Mysteries is written in stanzas all thro', one stanza being now and then shared among two or three people, as, indeed, several are in Shakspere's *Love's Labour's Lost.*

passions, into the terror of his tragedies, laying bare the inmost recesses of the human soul; and then passt, serene and tender, to the pastorals and romances of his later age. Changing, developing, Shakspere always was. And as his growth is more and more closely watcht and discernd, we shall more and more clearly see, that his metre, his words, his grammar and syntax, move but with the deeper changes of mind and soul of which they are outward signs, and that all the faculties of the man went onward together.[1] This subject of the growth, the oneness of Shakspere, the links between his successive plays, the light thrown on each by comparison

[1] "I do not believe that he [Shakspere] could have been induced, after he was 40, to write either ryme or blank verse, resembling in metrical structure and rhythmical effect that which he used to write before he was 25, or even 30. The regular cadence and monotonous sweetness had grown tiresome to his ear; his imagination and intellect had become impatient of the luxuriance of beautiful words and superfluous imagery. It had become a necessity to him to go to the heart of the matter by a directer path, and to produce his effects of beauty and sweetness in another way—a way of his own. Compare the description of a similar object in three different plays, belonging to dates considerably distant from each other: the face of a beautiful woman just dead; there being nothing in the character of the several speakers to explain the difference.

"1. *Romeo and Juliet*, second edition (1599): not in the first edition: therefore presumably written between 1597 and 1599 [I believe very much earlier, 1591-3, the first edition being only a pirated version of the second, and neither printed till long after the writing of the play]:

'Her blood is settled and her joints are stiff.
Life and these lips have long been separated.
Death lies on her, like an untimely frost
Upon the sweetest flower of all the field.' [Fancy.]

"2. *Antony and Cleopatra* [? 1606-7]:

'If they had swallowed poison, 'twould appear
By external swelling: *but she looks like sleep,*
As she would catch another Anthony
In her strong toil of grace.'
[Imagination, penetrating to the purpose of her life.]

"3. *Cymbeline* [? 1610]:

'How found you him?
Stark, as you see,
Thus smiling, as some fly had tickled slumber,
Not as death's dart being laughed at. His right cheek
Reposing on a cushion.'

with its neighbour, the distinctive characteristics of each Period and its contrast with the others, the treatment of the same or like incidents, &c., in the different Periods of Shakspere's life—this subject, in all its branches, was the special business of the second school of Victorian students of the great Elizabethan poet, as antiquarian illustration, emendation, and verbal criticism—to say nothing of forgery, or at least, publication of forged documents[1]—were of the first school. The work of the first school—minus the forgery—we had to carry on, not to leave undone; the work of our own second school we had to do. In it, Gervinus of Heidelberg, Dowden of Dublin,

"The difference in the treatment in these three cases represents the progress of a great change in manner and taste: a change which could not be put on or off, like the fashion, but was part of the man.

"Look, again, at the structure of the verse a few lines further on (*Cymbeline*, Act IV., sc. ii., l. 220-4; Folio, p. 389, col. 1):

'Thou shalt not lacke
The Flower that's like thy face, Pale Primrose, nor (*weak*)
The azur'd Harebell, like thy Veines: no, nor (*weak*)
The leafe of Eglantine, whom not to slan | der
Out-sweetned not thy breath.'

"I doubt whether you will find a single case in any of Shakspere's undoubtedly early plays of a line of the same structure. Where you find a line of ten syllables ending with a word of one syllable—that word not admitting either of emphasis or pause, but belonging to the next line, and forming part of its first word-group—you have a metrical effect of which Shakspere grew fonder as he grew older; frequent in his latest period; up to the end of his middle period, so far as I can remember, unknown."—Mr. Spedding's letter to me on his "Pause-Test." *New Shaks. Soc.'s Trans.*, 1874, p. 31.

[1] The utterers of these forged documents were J. P. Collier and the late Peter Cunningham. Those put forth by Mr. Collier as genuine were the documents from the Ellesmere (or Bridgewater House) and Dulwich College Libraries, a State Paper, and Mr. C.'s additions to the Dulwich Letters (*see* Dr. Ingleby's *Complete View*). I, in common with many other men, have examind the originals with Mr. Collier's prints of them. He printed one more name to one document than was in it when produced; and when this was found out, the document was made away with, undoubtedly by the forger of it. None of Mr. Collier's statements should be trusted till they have been verified. The entries of the actings of Shakspere's plays in Mr. Peter Cunningham's *Revels at Court* (Shakespeare Society, 1842), pp. 203-5, 210-11, are also printed from forgeries (which Sir T. Duffus Hardy has shown me), though Mr. Halliwell says he has a transcript of some of the

Hudson and Bras, are the students' best guides that we have in English speech.[1] I can only hope to help to their end, by saying how Shakspere's successive plays have struck me, who came late to the study of them, resolvd to try to get at their relation to one another and their author, and not to submit to the mere gammon I used to hear: "Succession of Shakspere's plays! My dear fellow, impossible! Shakspere was infinite; no before and after in him!" or, "Succession! Can't be done; the very utmost you can hope for, is, to say to which of the three Periods a Play belongs;"—as if the same powers of mind which could put a play into a period, couldn't, with further exercise, settle the place of the play in that period. I don't say that we can do this entirely even yet; we can't; but it's only because we haven't yet used our eyes and heads enough. Assuredly a day will come when the large majority of reasonable critics will be agreed as to the order of Shakspere's plays; and as soon as folk know their Shakspere A B C, we shall have no more such silly fancies as the late Mr. Hunter's—that *The Tempest* was *Love's Labours Won*, and written before 1598—or Mr. Swinburne's, that *Henry VIII.* was an early Second-Period Play, and therefore before or about 1596.

The handiest test for Shakspere's earliest plays is that of metre, combined with evident youngness of treatment. We find in certain plays such a large proportion of rymed lines mixt with blank verse in the ordinary five-measure dialogue, and in others such unripeness of handling, that we pick out as the First-Period Plays, *Love's Labour's Lost* (the early part of *All's Well*, repre-

entries, made before Mr. Cunningham was born. Thus the following usually relied-on dates are forged: 1605, *Moor of Venice*, *Merry Wives*, *Measure for Measure*, *Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Henry V.*, *Merchant of Venice*; 1612, *Tempest*, *Winter's Tale*. The forged biographical documents uttered by Mr. Collier have been a curse to Shakspere students ever since. In December, 1876, *The Theatre*—which, by the way, once pretended to knowledge enough to criticise the New Shakspere Society's work—reprinted the Blackfriars Theatre documents as genuine.

[1] *See*, too, Mr. Swinburne's two articles in *The Fortnightly Review*, 1875-6.

senting *Love's Labours Won*), *The Comedy of Errors*, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Romeo and Juliet* (with the poems *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, and probably the Troilus part of *Troilus and Cressida*), *Richard II.*, and the quadrilogy of 1, 2, & 3 *Henry VI.* and *Richard III.* (As the Shakspere Temple Garden scene in 1 *Henry VI.* has an extra syllable to one-fourth of its lines, while *Love's Labour's Lost* has one to only nine lines in the whole play, I do not suppose Shakspere's ascribed part in 1 *Henry VI.* to be his earliest work.)

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FIRST PERIOD[1]

TITUS ANDRONICUS.—The story of *Titus Andronicus* is briefly that Titus, returning from the Gothic wars with prisoners, finds Bassianus and Saturninus, two brothers, in conflict for the emperorship. Thru Titus, Saturninus is made emperor, and would wed Lavinia, Titus's daughter, but Bassianus carries her off, and weds her. Titus gives his prisoners, Tamora, queen of the Goths, Aaron, her Moorish paramor, and her two sons, to Saturninus, who weds Tamora. Titus has granted one of Tamora's three sons as a sacrifice for his dead sons, and Tamora seeks revenge. Titus has slain his own son, who sought to prevent his pursuit of Lavinia. Tamora's two remaining sons find Bassianus and Lavinia in a wood: the former they kill; the latter they ravish and mutilate. Martius and Quintus, Titus's sons, are accused of the crime, and condemnd to death. Titus is deceivd that he may save them by cutting off his hand; Aaron performs this office; but the sons are killd. Titus's son, Lucius, goes to join the Goths and take revenge on Rome. Tamora is deliverd of a blackamoor child, whose nurse and the midwife, Aaron, its father, murders. Tamora and her two sons go disguised to Titus to induce him to recall Lucius. Titus feigns not to recognise them,

[1] In the first part of each of these chapters on the Four Periods, we give a very brief *résumé* of each play; in the latter half, a review of the Period itself. The statistics of each play—date, sources, editions, &c.—are given in full in the Introductions. It is thought that these *résumés*, brief tho' they must be, may be useful to those who do not know their Shakspere well. The short account of the Comedies is by Dr. Furnivall; that of the Poems, Histories and Tragedies by me.—M.

and persuades Tamora to go and leave her sons. Having previously discoverd their crime, he slays them. He recalls Lucius, and invites Tamora, Saturninus, &c., to a banquet, where he serves up a pie made of the blood and bones of Tamora's sons. General carnage ensues. Titus kills Lavinia and Tamora; Saturninus kills Titus; Lucius kills Saturninus, and is afterwards proclaimd emperor. We believe that Shakspere had very little or nothing to do with this abomination among plays. It has not one redeeming feature, and is full of the grossest horrors and bestiality.

LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST.—In his first genuine play, Shakspere dealt with some of the leading topics of his day—the relation of man to woman, the education question, and the worth of the wit on which London gallants so prided themselves. He took for his male characters the King of Navarre, Henry IV., and his generals, in whose war for the crown of France the Elizabethan Protestants were so greatly interested, and whom they helpt. The king takes it into his head to make his Court an Academy, where he and his three nobles, Biron, Dumain and Longaville, swear to study for three years, to see no woman, to fast one day a week, and have but one meal a day on the other days. To them comes the Princess of France, with a demand from the king, her father, for the repayment of 100,000 crowns, and the yielding-up of Navarre's claims to Aquitaine. She brings with her her three ladies, the dark Rosaline, Maria and Katharine; and, of course, the king and his nobles at once fall in love with them, the king with the princess, Biron with the sparkling Rosaline, Longaville with Maria, and Dumain with Katharine. When they leave the ladies, each of the men writes verses to the girl he loves, and they go, one after another, to a wood to sigh, and to read their poems. Biron is first; he is overcome by Rosaline's beautiful black eyes. Hearing someone coming, he climbs a tree. The king then appears, reads his verses to the princess, and hides when Longaville turns up with his sonnet to

Maria. Then Longaville hides when Dumain comes in and spouts his lines to his Kate. On which, Longaville steps forward and reproaches Dumain; then the king turns out and abuses both; and Biron jumps from his tree and scolds all three of them, when his own verses to Rosaline are produced; and the four men confess they are all in love, and call on Biron to justify them. This he does brilliantly, as love in a lady's eyes is worth all the books. They then say they 'll entertain their French lady-loves with a masque, and they dress as Russians. But the girls get wind of this, and change favours, so that when the men come, each takes the wrong girl, and is chaft by her; they are all dry-beaten with pure scoff. So they depart, and return in their proper clothes, and are told by the girls that a mess of Russians has been to visit them, but couldn't say one happy word. They are too polite to call the men fools; but says Rosaline, "this I think: When they are thirsty, fools would fain have drink."

The underplot is concernd with Armado, a Spaniard full of fantastical words, and his wooing of Jaquenetta, a pretty country girl whom the clown Costard wants. His witty little page, Moth, makes great fun of him over it. He is askt by the king to get up a show for the ladies; and his Masque of the Nine Worthies leads to plenty of fun. Costard wants to fight him in his shirt for Jaquenetta; and Armado has to confess that he has no shirt. Suddenly comes news that the French princess's father is dead; so she must go home at once. The King of Navarre and his friends ask for love-pledges from the princess and her ladies; these are refused till the men have shown they are worthy of good women's love. The king is to go to a hermitage for a year; Biron is to work in a hospital, and cure his gibing spirit; Dumain and Longaville are to wait for a year, too; and Armado is to hold the plough for three years before he gets Jaquenetta. The women have shown the men that they can't do without them, and that they must do good work to win them.

The play is a bright open-air one, full of quip and chaff, with two capital songs to wind it up, and takes the conceit out of men who fancy they are lords of the world, and can do without woman's guidance and help.

THE COMEDY OF ERRORS.—Having thus relievd his feelings by telling the wits of his day what he thought of 'em, Shakspere resolvd on a change, and went back about 1,800 years for the plot of his next play, *The Comedy of Errors*, to the old Roman comic dramatist Plautus, who livd about B.C. 254 to 184, and some of whose works Shakspere may have read at school. This took him from the Pyrenees to the Mediterranean, from the south of France to Syracuse in Sicily and Ephesus in Asia Minor. These two cities having quarreld, they both decreed that if any one of either place came to the other, he should be killd unless he paid 1,000 marks. A Syracusan merchant, Ægeon, was found in Syracuse and condemnd to die unless he paid the fine, which he couldn't do. So he told his story: that his wife and a poor woman had both borne twins at the same time, the twin of each pair being so like his brother that they couldn't be told apart; that he had taken the poor twins as slaves to his own boys; that all of them had been wreckt, he being saved with his elder twin and slave-boy, while his wife and the younger twin and boy were rescued by fishermen of Corinth. In search of them, his twin and boy, when eighteen, left home; and for five years the father had been trying to find them. Unknown to him, his younger son and slave (Antipholus and Dromio of Syracuse) had also come to Ephesus; and there the elder twin and slave (Antipholus and Dromio of Ephesus) had all along been; and their mother, unknown to them, was there too. Having thus a pair of master-brothers and a pair of slave-brothers, each one of each pair liable to be mistaken for the other, and the Ephesian master-brother having a jealous wife, Adriana, and this slave-twin being married too, a most amusing series of mistakes occurs, which lead to one master

beating the wrong slave, to both wives taking the wrong twins for their husbands, to the Ephesian twin being put in prison, &c., &c., all good fun which space prevents being told here. In the end, the mistakes are explaind and all ends happily.

With MIDSUMMER-NIGHT'S DREAM we are still in the Mediterranean, but at Athens, though the charm of the play lies in the fairies of England, and its fun in English mechanicals, the country workmen whom Shakspere had seen figuring as actors in out-of-door plays at Stratford and elsewhere. The king of the fairies, Oberon, has quarreld with Titania his queen, because she won't give him her page-boy. So he tells his spirit Puck to get him the flower love-in-idleness, whose juice, when dropt on anyone's eyes, will make her or him in love with the first animal she or he sees—girl, man, or beast. This juice, Oberon drops on Titania's eyes, meaning not to take it off till she gives him her page; and when she awakes, she falls in love with a delightfully humorous and conceited weaver, Bottom, with an ass's head over his own. Her scene with her fairies and him is charming. Before this, Oberon also told Puck to drop the juice into the eyes of a sleeping Athenian—meaning one Demetrius—to make him in love again with Helena, whom he had deserted for her friend Hermia. But Puck unluckily drops it in the eyes of Hermia's sleeping lover, Lysander, who sees Helena when he awakes; and this leads to a quarrel between the two girl-friends and to an attempted duel between their two lovers. At last, Puck sets the matter right, and the two sets of sweethearts are to be married on the same day as their Duke, Theseus, and his lover, Hippolyta. But, in honour of the coming wedding, Bottom and his friends—Quince the carpenter, Snug the joiner, Flute the bellows-mender, Snout the tinker, and Starveling the tailor—rehearse and then act the play of Pyramus and Thisbe, in which Pyramus, on seeing Thisbe's scarf bloodied by a lion, stabs himself for love of her, and she then stabs herself for love of him. And then the Fairies appear

and bless the bridal bed. The whole play is full of delightful fancy and fun, to which no kind of justice can be done in a short sketch.

THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA.—We move to Italy in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*—to Verona, Milan, and the frontiers of Mantua—and find two young friends: the simple, frank Valentine—in love with Sylvia, the daughter of the Duke of Milan, who disapproves the match,—and the fickle and scheming Proteus—in love, at first, with Julia. Valentine is at the Emperor's (that is, the Duke's) court, and Proteus's father sends him, against his will, to be with Valentine. As soon as Proteus sees Sylvia, he falls in love with her, gives up Julia, and treacherously resolves to oust Valentine. Valentine trusts him with his plan to elope with Sylvia. Proteus betrays this to the Duke her father, and he banishes Valentine, and urges her to accept an older lover, Thurio, whom Proteus plays on and betrays too. But Sylvia refuses both Thurio and Proteus, and escapes with an old friend, Eglamour, to follow Valentine, who has agreed to be the chief of a band of outlaws. Proteus finds her in a wood, and tries to ravish her, but is stopt by Valentine, who, on Proteus's repentance, and his acceptance of Julia, who has followd him in disguise, generously forgives him, and all ends happily. Proteus has a delightfully comic servant Launce, who owns a dog, has a sweetheart with no teeth and a temper, but who can milk and brew good ale, so that her virtues outbalance her vices; and he and Valentine's man Speed enliven the play.

ROMEO AND JULIET.—In Verona, two families, the Capulets and the Montagues, were at feud. Romeo was of the latter family, Juliet of the former. Old Capulet gave a feast, to which went Romeo and his friends, Mercutio, Benvolio, &c. Romeo's purpose was there to see Rosaline, whom he lovd, and to compare her beauty with that of other Veronese ladies. There he saw Juliet, and there began their love for one another. Romeo leapt at night over Capulet's orchard wall, and Juliet

appeard at her window. Here they settled that Juliet's nurse should go to Romeo early on the morrow to arrange their marriage. Romeo departed for the cell of Friar Laurence, to whom he told his story, and whom he induced to consent to wed him and Juliet that afternoon. The nurse came, and was told the arrangements; and Juliet, pretending her purpose was shrift, went to the monk's cell and was secretly married. Juliet returnd home. Tybalt, Juliet's cousin, shortly afterwards attackt Romeo in the street, but Romeo refused to fight. Mercutio, affronting Tybalt, was killd in the ensuing duel. Romeo subsequently attackt Tybalt and slew him. The Prince and rival families enterd; Romeo was condemnd to banishment. He had hidden in Laurence's cell, and his grief at the news was excessive. He climbd the rope-ladder to Juliet's chamber that night, and bidding her farewell at dawning, went to Mantua. Juliet's parents, anxious at her grief, sought to induce her to wed Paris, to whom they had promist her before the feast. This she refused to do, and departing from her irate father's threats, went for counsel to Laurence. He advised her to pretend consent to the marriage, and gave her a sleeping potion to take in the night before the wedding. This she did, and was considerd dead by her kin. She was borne to the sepulchre on an open bier. Laurence sent off a messenger to acquaint Romeo, and bid him come to take her when she awoke. The messenger, however, was detaind in a house in the town thru the plague. Romeo's servant, meanwhile, had gone to Mantua, and told him Juliet was dead. Romeo bought poison from an apothecary, and departed for Verona. Arrived at the sepulchre at night, he found Paris there with flowers. Paris attempted to apprehend Romeo; the two fought, and Paris was slain. Romeo, entering the sepulchre, embraced Juliet, and, taking the poison, died. Juliet then awoke, and discovering the truth, stabd herself with Romeo's dagger.

The play is full of luxuriant fancy; its lines pulse with passion; it is swift, ecstatic, romantic in the ex-

treme, distinguisht by lyrical splendour, moving pathos and tragedy.

VENUS AND ADONIS.—The story of Venus and Adonis Shakspere got from the Tenth Book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* Ovid says that Adonis was educated by the Naiads. His beauty enthrald Venus, who took part in the chase thru woods and among bushy rocks; and warning Adonis against hunting boars and such ferocious beasts, she led him to a poplar shade, where she told him the story of Atalanta. Shakspere's poem starts then, and describes Venus's efforts to win the love of Adonis. He, however, fled from her, and was killd by a boar. Venus, stricken with grief, changed his blood into the anemone, or wind-flower. The poem is full of luxuriant imagery, and country recollections, aphorisms on love and life, with lines of passionate and even sensual appeal. It is a young man's work, showing nature-love and nature-knowledge, command of words, and a fine sense of their music.

THE RAPE OF LUCRECE.—As in the *Venus*, Shakspere's source in *Lucrece* was Ovid—not, however, the *Metamorphoses* this time, but the *Fasti.* Chaucer, too, may have been drawn from. The lust of the *Venus* is continued here, not now purified by the sweet wind which steals over English woodlands, but hot and stifling. The poem is concernd with the ravishing of Lucrece the chaste, by Tarquin, to whom Collatine had boasted of her beauty, and with her suicide to save her shame.

The verse is in Chaucerian ryme-royal, and is characterised by long-winded and labord soliloquy, &c., which may be due to the influence of Chaucer's *Troilus.*

RICHARD II.—This piece commences historically the dramatic version of our national story which ends with *Richard III.* In the play, Bolingbroke, before Richard, accused Mowbray of treason and challenged him. Richard withheld the two foes in their anger, and directed them to attend the Coventry lists on St. Lambert's Day. At the lists, just as the opponents were about to fight, Richard

threw down his warder and stopt the charge. Mowbray he exiled from England for life; Bolingbroke, for the sake of Gaunt his father, only for six years. Richard, surrounded by flatterers and intriguers, was afraid of Bolingbroke's power and courting of the people. The king then prepared for quelling the rebels in Ireland, but his treasury, due to extravagances, was empty. News came that old John of Gaunt was sick to death. The king wisht him dead that he might seize his riches, and went to his bedside, where Gaunt deliverd him that beautiful, wise and patriotic speech, dear to all Britons, against his evil ways. Gaunt died; and Richard, now possest of money, left for Ireland. Bolingbroke, learning that the king had seizd his patrimony, gatherd force abroad and landed at Ravenspurg. Ross, Northumberland, Willoughby and other lords, disgusted with Richard, joind Bolingbroke. York, who had been left regent, went also to his side. Richard returnd to England, to find all things turnd to disaster. The army of Salisbury, on which he relied, was disbanded. His favorites at Court, unjust taxes and extravagances had turnd all from him. He was in Bolingbroke's power. Bolingbroke insisted that he came merely for his own; Richard knew the crown was at stake. Seeing that resistance was useless, he went to London, and there before Parliament, after much posing, resignd the crown. He was led thru the streets, where he parted from his queen, and after Bolingbroke was crownd Henry IV., Richard was killd by Exton in a dungeon at the new king's instigation.

In *Richard II.* are reflected the political problems of Elizabeth's day—succession to the crown, favorites, exactions. The lesson is preacht, that to rule wisely is to rule well. The play pulses with the patriotic fervor of dying Gaunt; and the rhetoric of national feeling heard here echoes again in later plays.

HENRY VI.—The three parts of *Henry VI.* give the dramatic version of English history from the death of Henry V. to the accession of Edward IV. They depict the seemingly interminable succession of internal con-

flicts which arose from the rivalry of York and Lancaster, and show how York obtaind the ascendency. They describe the wars in France, the bravery of Talbot, and the exertions of Joan of Arc for her countrymen. Part I. commences on November 7, 1422, with the funeral of Henry V., and concludes with the arrangement for the wedding of Henry VI. to Margaret of France. In it we see the disturbances between Gloster and Winchester, the development of the enmity between the York and Lancastrian factions, the engagement at Orleans, the conduct of Joan la Pucelle and her treatment by the French and English, the engagement at Rouen and the cowardice there of Sir John Fastolfe, the death of brave Talbot, and the series of intrigues that made the Court a peril and foreign plans a failure. The first part is somewhat incoherent; little of it is by Shakspere.

The second part of *Henry VI.* is a recast of the *First Part of The Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster.* It continues the story of intrigues given in the first part. Margaret arrives in England; Elinor, Gloster's wife, aspires to the crown for herself and her husband, who, however, is faithful to his king. She falls into the power of a rascally priest, a conjurer and a witch, instigated by Suffolk, and is by him betrayd. She is affronted by the queen in the Court, and is forced to do open penance in the streets. The enemies of Gloster bring about his downfall, and Suffolk has him murderd. Winchester, now a cardinal, who had greatly helpt in his ruin, died soon after in mental agonies. The populace demanded vengeance on Suffolk, for whom the queen held a guilty and secret love, and he was banisht. Some sailors murderd him off the coast. York, meanwhile, aspired to the crown to which he believd himself heir, and had won Salisbury and Warwick to support him: a rebellion occurring in Ireland, he was given men and sent to quell it. A caricature of the rebellion of Cade, which occurrd in his absence, is given in the play. York returnd to England with an army, and claimd the crown. His supporters

rallied round him. Part II. concludes with the battle of St. Albans, which York won, May 22, 1455.

The action in Part III. commences immediately after the battle of St. Albans. The Yorkists had marcht to London, and York was seated on the throne in the Parliament House. Henry weakly agreed that York should succeed him, thus dispossessing his son. Margaret, enraged, attackt the Yorkists, beat them in battle, captured York and killd him. Richard the hunchback, and Edward, hearing of their father's death, with Warwick's assistance gave the Yorkists battle at Towton, and turnd what was almost a loss into a victory. Henry fled to Scotland, Margaret to France; Edward was crownd king; Richard became Duke of Gloster, and George, his brother, Duke of Clarence. Warwick was sent to France to win Lady Bona to be wife to Edward, who meanwhile, thru lust, wedded Lady Grey. Warwick, meeting Margaret at the French king's court, and angerd with Edward's conduct, joind her. Henry had by then strayd from his place of safety, and was capturd. Warwick surprised Edward in his tent in the camp, and imprisond him. Henry was king once more, but made joint regents of Warwick and of Clarence who had joind him. Edward escaped to Burgundy, where he and his friends raisd forces, and returning to England, occupied York. They surprised Henry in London, and thrust him into the Tower, where Gloster afterwards murderd him. Warwick was surprised at Coventry, and beaten and killd at Barnet. Margaret was beaten at Tewkesbury, where young Prince Edward was stabd before his mother's eyes.

The three parts of *Henry VI.* are a patchwork in which several hands—at least four—took part. They contain many magnificent themes for a dramatist, of which the writers did not take full advantage. Fine, heroic figures are rare. The picture of mankind given shows men in the main base and treacherous, or weak and foolish. Shakspere's part was the amplification of the work of his predecessors.

RICHARD THE THIRD

RICHARD III.—This play continues the story of 3 *Henry VI.*, and shows how Richard the hunchback won and lost the crown. He was far from the kingship: many of his own kin stood in his way. These he diabolically cleard from his path, and seizd the crown, amid the execrations, curses and tears of the wives and mothers of those he had murderd. He had murderd Henry VI., but he wooed and won his widow. Thru him his brother Clarence was killd. The king died, and Richard had murderd his two little sons in the Tower. The nobles who opposed him, he just as ruthlessly had executed. By simulating religious fervour, he obtaind the acquiescence of mayor and people in his coronation. Buckingham, who had helpt him all thru, he refused a promist reward, and had executed, after that noble's army which was raisd in revolt had been disperst. Meanwhile the English nobles were deserting him. Some fled overseas, to Richmond, whom Henry VI. had said would some day reign. Exeter was in arms; Dorset and Lovel were up in Yorkshire; and the men of Kent had risen. Richmond was coming to England with his forces. The two armies met at Bosworth. Richard, on the night before the battle, was tormented by the ghosts of those he had slain. The forces of Richmond triumpht, and Richard was killd.

The play rings with the terrible curses of Margaret, stung into fury by insufferable wrongs, and the lamentations of the kin of the slain. It is dominated by the great figure of Richard himself, who is drawn after the manner of Marlowe.

REVIEW OF SHAKSPERE'S FIRST PERIOD

In Shakspere's First Period, 1589–1594 (?), the poet servd his dramatic apprenticeship and laid the foundations of his fame. The whole of his work in that time bears the impress of youth, but of youth gifted with most wonderful powers. Some of the work was, necessarily, revision, as in *Henry VI.* Most of it was original, and instinct with the personality of a young and

independent man, looking round with a keen eye and a kindly heart on the affairs of men.

In the earliest of his plays Shakspere shows an extraordinary facility in expression, and a felicity in the choice of phrases and epithets which, in its later developt form, effectually distinguisht his composition from that of any of his contemporaries. But the verse of Shakspere's early days was not, even at the best, a happy vehicle for expression. It consisted, as à rule, of five rigid iambic feet:

"Dark night, that from the eye his function takes,
The ear more quick of apprehension makes;
Wherein it doth impair the seeing sense,
It pays the hearing double recompense,'
—*Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. ii. p. 70,

and the custom of ryming made the verse even more mechanical and unfitted for dramatic expression. True, that it never, at its worst, presented the artificial character that strikes one on reading the French Alexandrine:

"Je viens percer un cœur que j'adore, qui m'aime.
Et pourquoi le percer? Qui l'ordonne? Moi-même,"
—Racine, *Bérénice*, IV. iv.,

yet all who read the dramatic works of the period composed in this cribd and restricted style must be struck by the evident disparity between the author's own conception of his subject and his rendering of it in composition. Consider how much Shakspere's idea, in the four lines quoted above, suffers from its expression and repetition in ryming couplets. Even when ryme was not used, the poet's lines sometimes exhibited an obscurity which was perplexing:

"The extreme parts of time extremely form
All causes to the purpose of his speed;
And often, at his very loose, decides
That which long process could not arbitrate."
—*Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. p. 141.

Here is thought, gyved and restricted, struggling to be free. As Shakspere progresses, his mastery of words becomes more absolute.

REVIEW OF THE FIRST PERIOD

The foundations of English blank-verse style were laid before Shakspere. Norton and Sackville, in the earliest English Renascence tragedy of *Gorboduc*, had employd the blank-verse metre introduced into English by Surrey. The style of Norton and Sackville was flat and unraisd, tho' the verse containd an astonishing number of central pauses and run-on lines. With the production of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, in 1587, blank-verse disclosed its tremendous possibilities. Here first we discover an appreciation for the harmony and value of well-woven words; and henceforward the path of progress is direct and visible. The lift in imagination, inspired by the stirring events and great stories of danger and discovery of Elizabethan days, to the creation of glowing forms and gorgeous scenes, naturally had its effect on choice of phrase and development of style. The influence of that master of word-music, Edmund Spenser, on all poetic composition must have been very great. It was, however, under the hands of Shakspere, himself a lyricist of the highest powers, that blank-verse attaind its greatest utility and development, capable of expressing the delicate beauty of a flower, the most gentle and the most unruly of emotions, the sadness of the death-scene, the splendid pageantry of state and arms—running smoothly on like the soft music of flowing water, or thundering like the reverberating cannon on the field of death. These powers were not attaind all at once: here and there in the earlier plays, in passages of different lengths, the growing master is reveald; but in the early plays of the First Period the dramatist is more or less bound by a certain rigidity of line due to a regularity of ryme and metre.

Obviously the tremendous difficulty imposed by ryme and metre running in almost perfect regularity, and the monotonous and crampt effect which these characteristics produce, must give rise to an impulse towards a metre of a less mechanical, but not necessarily less musical kind—one more in keeping with the naturally uneven

progress and outfolding of thought and emotion. One might expect to find that ryme, the principal impediment in composition, would first diminish and tend to disappear; and so we find it in the First Period of Shakspere. In the earliest of the plays, *Love's Labour's Lost*, there are 1,028 fully rymed lines to 579 blank ones (about 1 to ·58); and in *Richard III.*, the last play of the period, there are only 170 rymed lines to 3,374 blank ones, or about 1 to 20. The first period, however, does not actually show a gradual diminution in the number of rymes in each succeeding play, though it well shows the general tendency. In *Richard II.*, which precedes *Richard III.*, ryme is employd greatly (537 lines to 2,107 blank), but never again in the works of Shakspere is it used so much; and in *The Winter's Tale*, the last play of all, it disappears entirely.

Having arrived at the tendency to rid the line of the impediment of ryme, the poet was more at liberty to indulge in other metrical devices, among the first of which we may notice the double endings. These at first are rare,[1] *Love's Labour's Lost* containing only 9, but they increase in number, as we go on, with some variations, till *Richard III.* which ends the First Period and contains 570. At the same time, with the consciousness that the termination of each line with an emphatic syllable was as awkward as the ryming which had necessitated it, the poet developt the habit of ending some lines with a monosyllabic, unemphatic word which really belongd to the next line, and had to be more or less read with it:

[1] *Gorboduc*, as I noticed above, was astonishingly rich in double endings and run-on lines, and it seems as tho' a new and profound influence must have affected dramatic composition, when we find early Shaksperian verse so much more rigid and given up to ryme. I am inclined to assign this to the influence of Spenser, who lent his wonderful sweetness to dramatic writing, and also may have been an influence towards ryme. With the further development of dramatic verse, ryme disappeard, but the delicacy and fancy had become thoroughly assimilated and livd on, transformd in accordance with dramatic needs.

"Which else would put you to your fortune, *and*
The hazard of much blood.
I would dissemble with my nature, *where*
My fortunes and my friends at stake required
I should do so in honour."
—*Coriolanus*, III. ii. p. 129.

Endings so used, such as *and* and *where*, are of two kinds, those on which the voice can dwell in reading, as *where*, and those which we are bound, in pronunciation as well as sense, to run, like *and*, into the following line. *And* is a *weak* ending; *where* is a *light* ending. Light and weak endings are not an early device of Shakspere's. In the whole First Period there are only seventeen light endings and two weak ones, while the later play of *Antony and Cleopatra* alone contains seventy-one light and twenty-eight weak, and the last plays of Shakspere show the employment of these devices in increasing proportion. The general tendency in metre is towards freedom. Metrically, then, the early plays are very different from the late: they contain, as a rule, more ryme and more doggerel, more alternates and more sonnet metre, but less double, light, and weak endings.

Were none of this evidence regarded, however, and were there no external evidence available, the plays of the First Period would betray their early composition. They are linkt together in plot and in expression; they are mainly lyrical in their character, and they are chiefly concernd with the affairs of youth. The first of them, *Love's Labour's Lost*, is evidently the work of a young man conversant with the works of his contemporaries, experimenting with some of their styles and ridiculing others. The play relies not so much on character as on fine or witty speech and situation. It is partly based on the fundamental idea which underlies all the other early comedies, that mistaken identity is the best source of fun. It is full of romantic sentiment and chivalrous allusions. It enters lightly into the cares and love-affairs, the recreations and the studies of young people, and endows young men with a boyishness that is almost ridiculous. It quizzes

contemporary foppery, mannerisms and affectations. What plot it possesses, is constructed on a symmetrical system which ends in every Jack having his fore-appointed Jill, after some errors, confusion and wait-ing. Different types of characters are distinguisht by their different bearing, language and affectation, but various characters of the same type are very little differentiated by the possession of different intellectual endowments or psychological attributes, such as we find in *Henry IV.* or *The Tempest.* Noticeably, too, the play contains no pathos. Rough country play is brought on to the stage, and old country games are mentiond. Historical accuracy is not regarded. Most of these characteristics come out generally. The symmetrical plot and mistaken-identity devices are employd again in the *Comedy of Errors*, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, and *Two Gentlemen.* As the sonneteering and other verse in *Love's Labour's Lost* verges on conceit, so the blank verse in *Richard II.* sometimes verges on rant and bombast.

As the characters in the first play lack individualisation, so Richard III. lacks relief and those further touches which would render him a possible character. Richard is an elementary villain. As the men of the first play indulge in boyish exuberance, so the women of the *Dream* indulge in ungentle and unrefined threats and allusions. More Stratford life is brought into the plays, and the substantial similarity between members of the different groups in *Love's Labour's Lost* is repeated in the *Errors*, the *Dream*, and the *Two Gentlemen.* In the historical plays, historical accuracy is not greatly considerd, and in *Richard II.* the ryme, quibbles, and weak lines are matcht by inconsistencies in the play's central figure. In *Richard III.* Shakspere shows the influence of his greatest dramatic contemporary, Marlowe.

Still, in spite of faults, there is an undoubted lift as we go on; pathos increases till the shadow, afterwards disperst, in the *Errors*, becomes the dark night of *Romeo.* There is an intermingling of themes, partly

combined, as in the *Dream*, which become the plot and underplot of later plays. The principle, which is partly a consequence of tragedy, and is afterwards followd in almost all the plays, except the very late ones, of causing the action to revolve round, and depend upon, one or two central figures, of making character and not incident the source of the action, begins to be followd in *Romeo* and the two *Richards*, and the differentiation of characters, so ably effected in all the later dramas, particularly in *Cæsar*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Antony*, and *The Tempest*, may be said to have its first beginnings in one part of the *Dream*, in *Romeo*, and the two following plays. There is an increasing command over materials displayd by the dramatist, and an increasing insight into character and mind. The interest which commenced with satirising contemporary fashions extends to the handling of political themes and the teaching of political lessons. Henry VI. is a weak but virtuous king without resource, whose ineptitude brought disaster on England. Richard III. is a strong resourceful king without virtue, who brought on calamity thru his false lust for power, and his oppression; Richard II. is a weak, mean and vacillating king, who compast his own ruin and harmd his country thru his changefulness and unwise favoritism. The difficulties and questions of the Elizabethan political world seem to be reflected in the historical plays, and suggest that Shakspere took a great interest in the affairs of the State.

The First Period is the lyrical period also. The poet's imagination, calling up a thousand glorious forms of physical and material beauty in the poems, becomes rapt in *Romeo* and *The Two Gentlemen* in the ecstatic environment of youthful love. As I have said elsewhere of *Romeo*, 'a rapturous passion, exprest in a perfect lyricism, and reckless of all on earth that did not lend it glory and add to its greatness, sweeps through and pervades the play.'[1] And even in this early period, Shak-

[1] *Romeus and Juliet*, 1908, pp. lix. lx.

spere began to turn his attention to the tales of the Italian novelists who were afterwards, in his maturity, to provide him with plots which his genius renderd immortal. The poems, *Venus* and *Lucrece*, are the work of a student as much as of the keen observer of nature. They are polisht with the exquisite refinement which a young author always aims at. They disclose a man who revels in the splendid beauty of the earth, one to whom the fairness of man and woman is a delight, who takes Nature in the gross, accepts it all, and lives enchanted in the external fairness which it displays.

The First Period shows Shakspere to have been a man of wide reading. He had read old plays, Plautus, Plutarch, Ovid, Montemayor, Florio, Lyly, Sidney, Chaucer, Lord Berners, Munday, Brooke, Rich, Lodge, Marlowe, Daniel, Holinshed, Stowe, and the Bible. All of these authors and books he used in the composition of his plays.

Shakspere's position among his contemporaries was assured from the first. There is only one dissentient voice which sounds in the chorus of praise which welcomd the rise of Shakspere, and that is Greene's. In the *Microcosmos* of John Davies of Hereford (1603) we learn of Shakspere and Richard Burbage that they had wit, courage, good shape and good parts, and that they were generous in mind and mood. Spenser in his *Colin Clout* is considerd to refer to Shakspere in his lines on *Ætion:*

> "A gentler shepherd may no where be found:
> Whose Muse, full of high thoughts invention,
> Doth like himselfe heroically sound."

Weever wrote an enthusiastic sonnet in praise of him in 1595. Meres lauded him in 1598, and many of his contemporaries, Dekker, Marston, Drayton, Southwell, &c., alluded to his works, imitated them, or borrowd phrases from them. As for the dissentient voice of Greene, his publisher, Chettle, made amends for its discordant

note, for he subsequently exprest his sorrow for the publication of Greene's attack and lauded its victim, and reported his good fame and high repute. The greatest tribute of all to Shakspere, however, is the *Returne from Pernassus*, Part I., 1600, which, at so early a date, sets him supreme above all other poets.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SECOND PERIOD

KING JOHN. — This play of pathos and patriotism is linkt to *Richard III.* in Period I. by its subject and treatment. It reflects the political troubles of Elizabethan days. The play shows the efforts of France to win England for Prince Arthur, how princes' policy is subject to 'commodity,' and the necessity of national union against foreign interference. We see France and Austria in battle with England before Angiers. Each party claims victory and the citizens' allegiance. The citizens decide to await final results before submitting to either party, and when the angry powers are about to combine their forces against them, they propose amity and a marriage between Blanch, niece to England, and the Dauphin Lewis. The cause of Arthur and Constance, his mother, is forgotten; the marriage is arranged. John gives provinces to the wedded pair, and the late rivals enter Angiers in amity. Constance hears of this, and is smitten with grief and rage. She reproaches and upbraids the friends who have betrayd her. To them all enters Pandulph, the Pope's legate. He excommunicates John for his defiance. France may no longer befriend England, and, in spite of the entreaties of Blanch, France withdraws from alliance. Battle follows: England is triumphant; Austria slain; Arthur captured. John sends Arthur to England with Hubert whom he has incited to kill the boy, and directs the Bastard Faulconbridge to get money from the abbots. John then leaves for England. Hubert, when he goes to kill Arthur, is won to pity by the boy's pathetic appeals, and lets him live, but tells John he is dead. The

nobles have wind of John's treachery, and demand the boy. John repents the deed. He learns that Arthur is living, and sends this news to win back the rebellious nobles; but the boy, driven to despair, has by then jumpt from the castle walls and died. The nobles find his body, and in anger they join the Dauphin who has arrived in England to fight for the realm for himself. A strange unrest prevails in the land; rumours are current. John sees resistance is hopeless. In desperation he resigns his crown to Rome, and receives it back again. Rome no longer supports the Dauphin's claims, and bids him withdraw. He refuses. The Bastard goes blustering to him about John's power; but the Dauphin is for battle. Fortune is against France; his supplies are lost; he compromises and withdraws, while John, the coward, dies at Swinstead Abbey. The finest characters in the play are Constance, and the Bastard, whose blunt jocularity wins us to him.

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE. — *The Merchant of Venice* takes us to the pile-built city of the Adriatic, whose streets are canals, and whose palaces are grand with marble. Here we find the moneyless young Bassanio, anxious to marry a beautiful, rich girl of Belmont, Portia. His wealthy merchant-friend Antonio hasn't ready cash enough to fit him out for his venture, but borrows 3,000 ducats for him from the Jew Shylock (who hates him), on condition that, if the loan is not repaid in three months, Shylock may cut a pound of flesh from Antonio's body, where he will. With this money Bassanio goes to Portia, and is accepted as a lover. But she has two other lovers, the Prince of Morocco and the Prince of Arragon; and by her father's will she is to marry the man who chooses that casket of three—one gold, one silver, and one lead—which contains her portrait. The Princes choose the wrong (gold and silver) ones; Bassanio the right (lead) one; and in a beautiful speech Portia gives herself to him. Meantime, Bassanio's friend Gratiano has run off with Shylock's pretty daughter Jessica, and a lot of her father's jewels

and money. Then comes news to Bassanio and Portia, on their wedding-day, that Antonio has faild to pay the 3,000 ducats in due time, and that Shylock claims his pound of flesh. Portia at once lets her husband go to Antonio, and she sends to a learned lawyer-friend for books and dress, and starts for Venice with her maid Nerissa. Shylock's claim comes before the Duke and magnificoes of Venice; and Portia, as a young barrister, with Nerissa as her clerk, appears as counsel for Antonio. She offers Shylock thrice the sum he claims; she appeals to him for mercy in most moving words; and when all is vain, and he insists on his pound of flesh, she turns on him, and shows he has incurd the penalty of death and the forfeiture of his goods by plotting against Antonio's life. The Duke lets him live on his giving half his fortune to Lorenzo and Jessica at once, and the whole after his death. The after lovely moonlight scene at Belmont, and the amusing one on Portia's revealing her disguise, we have not space to dwell on; but in *The Merchant* the first full Shakspere is seen.

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW.—In *The Taming of the Shrew* we are first in England, where a lord finds a Warwickshire tinker dead-drunk, and plays him the practical joke of having him put to bed in the best room, and, when he wakes, getting the servants to persuade him that he 's a lord, dress him up as one, and bring him, as his lady, a young page in a woman's smart attire. Then he agrees to see and hear a play; and the scene of this is Padua in Italy, and a country-house near. Baptista has a gentle young daughter, Bianca, whom three lovers want to wed—Lucentio, old Gremio, and Hortensio,—and a fiery elder daughter, Kate the Shrew; and he won't let Bianca marry till Kate is cleard off. So Hortensio gets his strong, rough-and-ready friend Petruchio to undertake to marry the rich, handsome, tempery Kate. In a clever and most amusing, off-hand way he pooh-poohs her rudeness, keeps her waiting in the church for her wedding, knocks down the parson, carries her off, sword in hand, instead of taking her to the

marriage-feast, puts her on a wretched horse which tumbles her in the mud and falls on her; and when they get to his house, he throws away her food, and her new dress and cap, under the pretence that they are not fit for her; he makes her say that the sun is the moon, and an old man is a virgin, just as he tells her; and when she is regularly tamed, he takes her back to her father's. Meantime, Hortensio has got rid of his rivals and wedded Bianca, while Lucentio has married a widow. The other married men chaff Petruchio about his shrewish wife. He bets them a hundred crowns apiece that his Kate is more obedient than their wives. This he triumphantly proves, and makes her give an eloquent exhortation to the others' wives on the duty of obeying their husbands.

1 HENRY IV.—The First Part of *Henry IV.* is a mixture of richest Shaksperean Comedy with the finest Shaksperean History. The play opens in about 1402. Henry, now old, is thinking of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, when news comes of Mortimer's capture by Owen Glendower. At the same time the fiery Hotspur, son to Northumberland, was victorious against the Scots, and had taken many prisoners. These, Hotspur wisht to withhold from the king, praying for the ransom of Mortimer, which was refused. Stung by his treatment, Hotspur revolted, burst into torrents of threats, and, with York, Worcester, and his father, joind the Welsh and Scotch rebels. We see the revolted leaders dividing up England before they have won her, and we behold their alliance nearly smasht by the furious scorn of Hotspur against the credulity and superstition of the infuriated Glendower. The king envies Northumberland his able son, Hotspur; his own son Hal indulges in dissolute revels with Falstaff and his fellow-rogues in London. The fun of the immortal robbery at Gadshill, of the scenes in the 'Boar's Head' in Eastcheap, of the lies, boasts, subterfuges and escapades of Falstaff, cannot be done justice to here. Hal comes under his father's noble remonstrance, and promises better things. Still, he gets Falstaff a charge

of foot, a charge which the old rufflan wrongs and betrays. Prince John and Westmoreland march against the rebel camp, where all goes wrong. Northumberland falls ill, Glendower is held by prophecies, Worcester's horse is tired, and part of Vernon's has not arrived, when the king's forces approach. Some of the rebels are for caution and delay; Hotspur is mad for battle. The king's offer of clemency is thrust aside, and the rival forces meet at Shrewsbury. Douglas kills Blunt, and is put to flight by Prince Hal, who has sworn to vanquish Hotspur, and, when they meet, slays him. Falstaff feigns death when Douglas attacks him, and claims to have killd Hotspur, after Hal had left him fallen. Worcester and Vernon are captured and executed. The king is wounded. The royal forces are triumphant, and rebellion is quelld. The play continues the story of Bolingbroke, whom we saw in *Richard II.* It is full of splendid figures, perfectly drawn, and gives us the full blast of Shakspere's genius in his maturity, making the culmination of his power in comedy and humor.

2 HENRY IV.—The Second Part of *Henry IV.* continues the story of the first part; but in it pathos increases, humor is less gay, laughter dies. After Shrewsbury, rumor is busy: old Northumberland hears the rebellion is victorious; but speedily learns of its disaster. Still, York, Bardolph, Hastings, and Mowbray are in league against the king. Their success depends on the assistance of Northumberland, and the division of the royal forces against France and Glendower. Lady Percy and his wife urge Northumberland not to aid the rebels till he sees how fortune turns. Glendower dies. The old king, failing in health, sends Westmoreland and John of Lancaster against the revolted lords. Prince Hal is still playing the fool with the time with Falstaff. The fat rogue gets into scrapes with the Lord Chief Justice and Mistress Quickly, and escapes thru his invincible humor, impudence, and rascality. We see him in his old tavern, bussing Doll Tearsheet and abusing Prince Hal. He is

sent off to the wars, and told to get troops on his way. In Gloster he meets his old friend Shallow, whom he cheats and ridicules; and there he gathers his army of pitiful broken beggars. The rebels are met at Gaultree by Westmoreland, who, after a good deal of artful and deceptive haranguing, induces them to cite their grievances and disband their armies. They are then treacherously seizd and executed. Falstaff swaggers over his capture of Coleville, who had quietly deliverd himself up. The king, meanwhile, is ill in London, afflicted in conscience, and perpetually worried over the fate of England, shortly to be left to his dissolute Hal. He awakes one day to find the crown stolen from his pillow. Hal has taken it. The poor, dying king-father admonishes his repentant son, in loving, kingly words, urges him to nobler ways, and gives him counsel for his future duties. News comes to Falstaff that the king is dead. Hal, his friend, is king; all things are his! He posts to London with Shallow, eager for his new greatness. But times have changed: Hal the wild is now sober and kingly; he turns from the dissolute rascal to the wise advisers of his departed father. Falstaff is crusht. The play ends on April 9, 1413.

HENRY V.—The patriotic feeling which we saw in the earlier histories rises to its greatest pitch in *Henry V.* Here we have the further story of Hal. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely are perturbd about a bill which would decrease their power and revenues. Henry has claimd French provinces as his; Canterbury explains to him that Salic Law does not debar his claim to the French crown, and takes all moral responsibility for the war which Henry proposes against France, by this means staving off the bill. To Henry's claim the Dauphin sends a derisive reply, and a present of tennis-balls. Henry makes elaborate preparations for war. France has found three traitors in England—Cambridge, Scroop, and Grey—who will assist him. Nym and Pistol have quarreld over Nell Quickly, and Pistol has won and wedded her; there is much mock fury, bluster, and rant

between the rivals. Old Falstaff dies, as ludicrously as he has lived, execrating sack and women. Pistol and his confederates are off to the French wars. The king has discoverd the traitors; they, unsuspecting his discovery, urge him to punish a poor offender; he proclaims their guilt and sends them to execution.

Meantime, the French, not without trepidation, prepare for hostilities. The English land at Harfleur and besiege the city. Pistol and his friends are driven to the fight by Fluellen the Welshman, who has an argument on military matters with the Irish Macmorris. Harfleur yields. The French are startled by the English progress, and stung into action by shame. They organise their forces, and send to Henry asking submission. The English army is then spent and wasted: sickness has claimd many victims; only a remnant remains of the great host: but Henry sends back a dignified defiance. Weak as he is, he will not seek battle; but as he is, he will not shun it. He marches towards Calais, but is barrd at Agincourt. The French, gay in splendid trappings, are over-confident, and play dice; the English rest. The result of Agincourt needs no telling; the army of France was conquerd, and 10,000 soldiers slain. We hear more, meanwhile, of the Falstaff gang: Bardolph has stolen a pax, and, in spite of Pistol's beseeching Fluellen, is hangd. The king, disguisd, meets Pistol in camp at night, and hears the latter boast that he will knock Fluellen's leek about his head. The king also, unrecognised, disputes with a soldier, Williams, and exchanges gloves in challenge. Pistol captures a terrified Frenchman; he is met by Fluellen, chastised and forced to eat the leek he despises. The king gives Fluellen Williams's glove, and the Welshman has his ear boxt; whereupon the king intervenes, Williams's fault is shown, he is forgiven and rewarded. Burgundy brings the rival kings together in conference; France allows England's claim; Henry woos fair Katharine, who has been learning English, and wins her. The play ends with promise of better things, of peace between the

two neighbor nations; but the actual sequel was far from bright. The able son that Henry expected from his marriage turnd out to be the weak Henry VI., whose history we have already discust, and whose incapacity was the cause of long turmoil and terrible wars.

THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.—Queen Elizabeth, says tradition, was so amused by Sir John Falstaff, that she bade Shakspere show him in love; and so the poet wrote his *Merry Wives of Windsor* in a fortnight. He made the fat knight pretend to be in love with the wives of two Windsor townsmen—Mrs. Alice Ford, who had a jealous husband; and Mrs. George Page, who had a sensible one. Each gets a love-letter from Falstaff, declaring that he loves her only; and when Mrs. Ford shows Mrs. Page her letter, they find both are the same, and they resolve to play him a trick. So Mrs. Ford invites Falstaff to her house next morning. When Falstaff goes, Mrs. Page rushes in and declares Ford is coming; so they huddle Falstaff into a clothes-basket, cover him up with dirty clothes, and their men carry him off to the Thames, and shy him into it. Then Mrs. Ford gets him to visit her again; and when her husband is again coming, the wives dress the old knight up as the Witch of Brentford, and Ford thrashes him well with his stick. They explain their fun to Ford; and then both husbands and wives play Falstaff a third trick: they put a stag's head on him in Windsor Park, and get children drest as fairies to pinch him and burn him; and he confesses that he's been made an ass.

An amusing underplot turns on the Pages' daughter, sweet Anne Page, of seventeen, who has three lovers—1, a silly country gentleman, Master Slender, whom Shakspere quizzes delightfully, and whom her father wants her to marry; 2, a hot-temperd French Dr. Caius, whom her mother wants her to marry; and 3, a handsome well-born spendthrift, Master Fenton, who 'smells April and May,' and whom Anne means to marry. Needless to say that, taking advantage of the Fairies

scene in the park, Anne does go off with Fenton and wed him; while Slender and Caius carry off, instead of Anne, two boys drest by her in girls' clothes of the respective colours that Page and his wife severally told their candidates to choose. The whole comedy is full of fun.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.—The scene of *Much Ado About Nothing* is Messina, in Sicily. Its governor, Leonato, has a gentle daughter, Hero, and a brilliant, witty niece, Beatrice. To them come two young officers from the war, Benedick of Padua, and Claudio of Florence. As soon as Beatrice sees Benedick, she attacks and chaffs him; and they keep up a war of words all thru the play. Claudio falls in love with Hero, and gets a friendly Prince of Aragon to woo her for him. They then make a plan to persuade Benedick and Beatrice to fall in love with one another, by letting each overhear a talk in which each is said to be dying for the other, though neither will say a word to show it. This succeeds. Meantime, Don John, the Prince of Aragon's brother, just to make mischief, arranges that his man Borachio shall talk to Hero's maid at night out of her window in the hearing of witnesses, as if she were Hero herself. And on the strength of her doing this, Claudio accuses Hero of incontinence, in the middle of her intended wedding, and the marriage is stopt. Hero is declared dead from grief, and is mournd. Beatrice, full of generous indignation, insists on Benedick's challenging Claudio, which he does; but thru Borachio, when drunk, revealing the treachery of Don John and himself, Hero's innocence is made known. Claudio repents, is forgiven, and weds her; and Beatrice agrees to marry Benedick. Borachio's confession is overheard by a delightfully and absurdly comic watchman, Dogberry, whose charge to his comrades, and whose examination of their prisoners, is great fun. Beatrice's spars with Benedick are brilliant in their repartee and wit.

AS YOU LIKE IT (1600), the most charming of Shakspere's comedies, takes us back nominally to France,

the forest of Ardennes, but really to a Robin Hood-like fancy-land which lions and serpents haunt, and where wedding frocks and heathen goddesses can be had out of woods at an hour's notice. A younger brother, Frederick, has usurpt the dominions of his elder brother, the Duke, who lives in exile in the forest with a few friends. But his daughter Rosalind stays at Court with the usurper's daughter, Celia, who loves her. To a wrestling there, comes young Orlando, whom his elder brother Oliver has treated badly, and whom he has urged a traind wrestler to kill; but instead, Orlando throws and kills the wrestler, and Rosalind falls in love with him and gives him her chain. The usurper banishes her; and his daughter Celia leaves him and goes with Rosalind, who dresses as a man, and the fool Touchstone, to her father's forest. There she meets Orlando, and seeing he is in love, tells him to play lover to her, tho' she seems a man; and the fun she has with him is altogether delightful. At last she promises to produce his real Rosalind; and his bad brother Oliver, having been rescued from death by Orlando, repents, and is accepted by Celia. Rosalind appears in her wedding frock; she and Celia wed Orlando and Oliver, and all ends happily. The genial fool Touchstone, who makes great fun, weds his country wench Audrey; and Phebe, a shepherdess, who fell in love with Rosalind when posing as a man, and scornd the loving Corin, marries him too when she finds Rosalind is a woman. A melancholy man, Jaques, a friend of the Duke's, is well snubd by Rosalind for being out of sorts with all the world; and he ultimately goes to the religious folk whom the usurper Frederick has joind after repenting and giving up his duchy to its rightful owner, Rosalind's father.

TWELFTH NIGHT takes us to Illyria, on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, where we find a music-loving Duke, Orsino, in love with a rich Countess, Olivia, who will have nothing to do with him, as she is full of sorrow at the death of her brother. To Orsino comes as a page,

Cesario, a sweet, unselfish girl, Viola, who has been shipwreckt on the coast, and fears that her brother, Sebastian, who is exactly like her, has been drownd. She falls desperately in love with the Duke, who sends her, as his boy-page, to make love to Olivia for him. And the result is, that Olivia falls in love with the seeming man, Cesario-Viola. Now, Olivia has a sharp-witted little waiting-woman, Maria, and a noisy drunken uncle, Sir Toby Belch, who plays on a delightfully absurd Sir Andrew Aguecheek to make love to Olivia. And because Olivia's consequential steward, Malvolio, reproves Sir Toby for his noisy drinking-bouts, Maria devises a most amusing plan for making Malvolio believe that Olivia is in love with him. And when he acts on this belief, they declare he is mad, and they have him lockt up. As Sir Toby thinks that Viola is a lover of Olivia's, he persuades the cowardly Sir Andrew to send her, as Cesario, a ridiculous challenge. Viola is afraid of Sir Andrew, and he is afraid of her. Sir Toby urges them both on, and their preparations for the duel are most absurd; but it is interrupted by the entrance of the captain of the ship who rescued Sebastian, and who mistakes his sister Viola in boy's dress for him. Olivia then appears, also mistakes Sebastian for Viola, and shows her love for him, and at once troth-plights herself to him. The Duke, finding he can't have Olivia, makes up his mind to marry Viola; Malvolio is set free, and Maria is to be Lady Belch. Sir Andrew must shift for himself.

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL takes us to France and Tuscany, and has, as its unpleasant subject, the wooing of an unworthy man of noble birth by the far higher-natured orphan daughter of a learned physician. But we all know that the gusts of love blow where they list; and we often see in life the better wedded to the worse. Helena has been long in the household of the Countess of Rousillon, and adores her son Bertram, with "his archèd brows, his hawking eye, his curls." He is to go to the French Court, with an attendant, a bragging,

cowardly fool, Parolles. The French king has a deadly disease, fistula, which his doctors cannot cure; but Helena has a recipe of her dead father's for it, and with it heals the king, who promises to give her, in reward, the hand of any noble of his Court whom she may choose. She selects Bertram. He at first refuses, but then accepts her, in fear of the king's threats, tho' he tells his man that he 'll not bed her, but will send her home. He does so, and goes to the war, writing to his wife that she is not to call him husband till she can get his ring from his finger, and show him a child begotten by him on her—which will be never. At the war the cowardice of this bragging fool Parolles is brilliantly exposed, and he, Bertram, tries to seduce a girl, Diana, the daughter of the widow with whom Helena, who has followd her husband, lodges. She gets Diana to consent, in appearance, to Bertram, and then at night takes her place in bed with him, and gives him the ring which the king had before given her, in exchange for his ring. Before the king and his Court this ruse is explaind, the rings are identified, and then Bertram at last declares that he 'll love his wife "dearly, ever, ever dearly." Space fails to do justice to the Countess, her friend, Lafeu, and the other characters of the play.

SONNETS.—The *Sonnets* are a series of 154 poems, first publisht, with a mysterious dedication, by Thomas Thorpe, in 1609. They are addrest, to a great extent, to the unknown master-mistress of the poet's passion, and are concernd with his intrigue with a dark, married woman, who forsook him for his friend. They are full of enigmas and pitfalls for the critic; the *Sonnets* are unequal in merit, composed at long intervals, and their order has been often questiond. They followd a prevailing literary fashion; sonnet-sequences were then the vogue; but these transcend all other compositions of their kind by their music and refinement, the exquisite æsthetic sense of the artist who wrote them, and the depth of his insight into life and emotion. Criticism varies widely as to their import, and the

identity of the characters concernd; but all criticism unites in praising their ethereal delicacy and charm, and the student may well be satisfied with that, and let the problems go.

In any case, the *Sonnets* seem to show the poet's heart troubled; they fittingly conclude the Second Period, where laughter has gradually diminisht and pathos has gradually increast, and prepare us for the dark Third Period with its storm, darkness, and death.

Review of the Second Period

This is the sweet and joyful time of Shakspere, linkt by thought, motive and theme, with the past and future, redolent of the pure breath of the green fields and of flowers, lit by a warm sunshine of gladness, resonant with the strong, exultant rhetoric of splendid patriotism and martial achievement, ringing with a chorus of laughter that sounds and re-echoes like a peal of bells of different metals cast in different moulds. The reverse creeps in for contrast: clouds come over the sun; there 's sorrow, there 's pathos and there 's sin. No laughter without sadness somewhere; kings may be cowards, and brave men may be fools; the innocent may suffer; the guilty may go unpunisht, and even find good fortune: but virtue, nevertheless, shall have its reward, and triumph; the wrong shall disappear before the forces of good; the laws of love shall be followd, and devotion shall not go unrewarded.

What a splendid and all-perceiving man, this Shakspere of the Second Period, including in his comprehensive vision the manifold pursuits of mankind, so many different phases of life and types of character; so full of interest and power; kindly and generous, friendly and sympathetic; imprest with the soundness, beauty and admirability of man! What a variety of forms pass before us as we watch the progression of the plays! There is John, the selfish, coward-king, from whom, still, good might proceed: Henry IV., a pathetic figure, strong-willd and able, toucht in conscience and failing

in health; not a little disturbd about the past, but more fearful for the future, longing for peace and quiet, but ready in an instant to don his armor and take up the sword, to hold for himself and his the England he loves so well: Henry V., wild and wilful in his youth, Falstaff's friend, his father's daily sorrow; and yet springing into a new life on duty's call, wise, self-reliant, ambitious, brave, pious, the hero of Shakspere's manhood, Hotspur's vanquisher, England's lion, conqueror of Agincourt, Katharine's wooer, a noble and resolute man: then follows the strong and venerable king of *All's Well*, distinguisht by the royal attributes of gratitude and virtue, above the artificial distinctions of rank, one who loves a man as a man. There are battles, sieges, parleys, treaties; duels, quarrels, threats, insults; plots, treachery, rebellions, executions and murders. The old political lessons which were taught in the First Period are reiterated in this; Henry IV. advises his son that foreign wars unite a nation, and Henry V. acts on that policy; the questions of Elizabeth's sovereignty, her right to the crown, are reflected in *John* and in *Henry IV.*, as are the Elizabethan necessity of preventing foreign intervention in national politics, and the principle that vexatious controversy concerning the right to rule might be, and was, less important than the duty of ruling strongly, wisely and well. Throughout is the plea for national unity; throughout is the exultation of national strength, pride of England, love of its green fields and its sea-bound shores, rejoicing in its conquests, faith in its power, and hope for its future.

Greater characterisation distinguishes this Second Period from the First. Mercutio was a conspicuous and well-drawn figure in *Romeo;* but how much more well-drawn is Hotspur! Both, indeed, are the embodiment of fiery impetuosity and youthful energy, but there is no satire of life in Hotspur: he can become furious and wrathfully indignant, is inconsiderate, undiplomatic and rashly aggressive; therein lie his failings and his end. Notice the knowledge of the

Keltic temperament shown by Shakspere in these plays: Glendower in 1 *Henry IV.*, credulous, superstitious, passionate, over-ruled in his contracts by prophecies; Gower in 2 *Henry IV.*; Fluellen in *Henry V.*, one who loves argument, quotes precedent, forgets names, likes literature, and is brave and hardy; and Sir Hugh Evans in the *Merry Wives*, a most 'fehement' man, is addicted to being 'melancholies,' has 'chollors' and 'trempling of mind,' indulges in a duel, feels like crying at the rendezvous, and then falls into singing an old song about fragrant posies and madrigals, introducing bits from a metrical rendering of the 137th Psalm. The dark and terrible side of the Keltic nature is not yet dwelt upon; *Lear* and *Macbeth* are yet to be; but the laughter of Falstaff, of Benedick and Beatrice, the bibulous refrains and witticisms of Sir Toby Belch, the humor of Touchstone, the merriment of Mistress Ford and Mistress Page, are too real for their coming yet awhile.

There is a lift in the women characters. The figures of Constance and Elinor in *John* presage the better ones coming. Portia, in the *Merchant*, is the beginning of that succession of beautiful types of splendid womanhood, whose sufferings, devotion, sacrifice, struggles for their lovd ones, and pathetic appeal with their beauty and their purity against fate, are a legacy to the men of all time. Hermia and Helena have gone by; the memory of Stratford girls and Stratford ways seems to have faded before the acquaintance of the strong, but gentle and refined women whom the poet must have met. Portia is endowd with all the great virtues of womanhood: sympathetic, accomplisht, faithful, she attempts to awaken in Shylock a generous instinct which he does not possess; before condemning him to the rigors of the law to which he appeals, she tries to arouse in him a pity for the sufferings of that humanity with which he claims to be kin. She precedes Helena of *All's Well*, Ophelia, Isabella, Desdemona, and Cordelia. Hero of *Much Ado*, and Helena, introduce

the patient, suffering type, who strive against terrible odds and are wrongd, but who, thru all, in the face of death, in its very clutches, retain their gentleness and their nobility, and triumph, even when they deliver up their lives, over those who do them wrong.

Beatrice of *Much Ado* is able, like Portia, but has a touch of Kate the Shrew; she and Benedick refer back to Biron and Rosaline of *Love's Labour's Lost.* Her repartee is as swift as Falstaff's, her humor rich, her outlook, in spite of her scorn, happy and sound; she is not naturally submissive to man as the types which follow her, but stands as his mate and equal, willing to help the wrongd and the afflicted. The ready humor she evinces, the ability she strikes us as possessing, come out again in the Maria of *Twelfth Night,* where the whole of the comedy with the conceited puritan, Malvolio, depends upon her plot and actions; but Beatrice stands above Maria as the woman with accomplishments, has more genuine affection, more pity, and more knowledge of life. The female figures of *As You Like It,* that sweet pastoral comedy, set in such environment as the ideal folk of the fairy tales, are themselves of a more ideal cast. Who is not familiar with the figures of Rosalind and Celia wandering wearily, with their devoted Touchstone, thru the wild, wonderful ways of a strange forest, where love-lorn shepherds, like the Damon of Virgil's Eclogue lamenting for his Nisa, tell the story of their love-sorrow in metrical cadences; where a Duke and his faithful following, like old Robin Hood and his merry men, pass their time as the birds under the open sky, and fleet the time carelessly as they did in the golden world? In this, the gayest of the comedies, the pathos is diminisht, but in the stories of Orlando and Rosalind it is there all the same; the clash of arms, the contention of nations, the sounding rhetoric of warriors and statesmen, the rough wit of Falstaff and Toby Belch, even the merry raillery of Beatrice and Benedick and the buffoonery of Dogberry and his men,—all these things are husht and

forgotten: we are in an enchanted land, impossible maybe, but glad and joyful, free from the Court troubles and the conventions of Elizabethan life, and reminiscent of the green glades of Stratford.

In *All's Well* the sweet time comes to its close; for the gallant Orlando, the manly Benedick, we have the ungallant and unmanly Bertram, blood-proud and unfaithful, and the vicious Parolles, whose nauseating personality is felt throughout the play. Here, too, we have in the words of the Clown and Parolles the inception of that reference to, and disgust at, the carnal side of man, taken up in the Third Period, seemingly with greater repugnance, in *Hamlet*, *Antony*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Troilus and Cressida*.

All sorts of men are shown us—kings, as we have mentiond above, and princes; statesmen and courtiers in the historical plays; soldiers and traitors. The rich citizen life is portrayd in *The Shrew* and *The Merchant*, the lesser citizen life in *The Merry Wives*. Shylock, drawn sympathetically and generously by Shakspere as compared with contemporary pictures of Jews, is like Baptista in his thought for gold before his daughter—for Baptista would give his child for money. Petruchio and Benedick are like the dashing merry fellows who haunted the stage, the fencing-school, Paul's Walk and the ordinary. *Henry IV.* shows us knighthood, exalted and fallen, the life of the tavern, the adventures of the highway; gives us immortal pictures of the rogues and cheats, Poins, Gadshill, Peto, Bardolph and Pistol, of the unscrupulous innkeeper, Mistress Quickly, of the common courtesan, Doll Tearsheet, of that eternal legacy of laughter to the world, John Falstaff, knight, villain, soldier, robber, liar, cheat, and wit, concerning whom no words can be adequate but his own. Here, too, we see the fussy old Justice Shallow with his colleague Silence, telling in the dotage of advancing years the foolish story of his would-be wayward youth; Mouldy, Shadow, Wart, Feeble and Bullcalf, recruits for his Majesty's army, rough, rude men, whose names alone bring a

smile to our lips; Fang and Snare, sheriff's officers, and Beadles, kinsmen of Dogberry and his foolish watch. In *The Merry Wives* some of the *Henry IV.* characters are seen again, Falstaff and his crew still more fallen, the French doctor, the Welsh parson, the blustering innkeeper, the merry, honest citizens' wives, Windsor Forest and Herne's Oak. *Henry V.* shows us the mixing up of nationalities, Gower and Fluellen of Wales, Macmorris of Ireland, Jamy of Scotland. *Twelfth Night* shows us again a picture of fallen knighthood, of woman's ready wit, of rewarded love, of foolish puritanism and mockt conceit. Love between women is shown us in the Rosalind and Celia of *As You Like It;* love between men in the *Sonnets*, together with the drama of wrongful passion and the triumph of better impulses.

The links that connect this Period with the First are many and interesting. The historical plays, like the previous ones, abound in rhetoric. The political lessons are continued; the plea for life is carried on. The magnificent lyrical outburst of *Romeo*, where the lovers bid their sad farewell as the lark commences its matutinal song, and the stars fade as the red streaks of sunrise lace the eastern clouds, finds an echo in the *Merchant*, when Jessica, so like Juliet, and Lorenzo tell over again the story of their love, seated on a bank, on a moonlit night, the starry expanse above them and the wind gently stealing thru the trees. Marlowe's influence which was shown in *Richard III.* comes out again in Shylock, and to the poet himself Shakspere alludes in *As You Like It:—*

> "Dead shepherd, now I find thy saw of might,
> 'Whoever loved that loved not at first sight!'"

For the reference to Elizabeth in *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, 'the imperial votaress,' Dr. Furnivall detects a second in *The Merchant of Venice*. "I want," he says, "to call attention to Shakspere's compliment in *The Merchant of Venice* to the beauty and power of Queen Elizabeth's public speaking. We 've all long known of

his first compliment to his Queen as the 'fair vestal' and the 'imperial votaress' of *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. ii. p. 40, but—so far as I know—no one has hitherto calld attention to his second compliment to Elizabeth in Bassanio's speech to Portia after she has given herself and all that is hers to him, in *The Merchant*, III. ii. p. 91:—

> "'Madam, you have bereft me of all words:
> Only my blood speaks to you in my veins;
> And there is such confusion in my powers
> *As after some oration, fairly spoke*
> *By a beloved prince, there doth appear*
> *Among the buzzing pleased multitude;*
> Where every something, being blent together,
> Turns to a wild of nothing, save of joy,
> Expressed, and not expressed.'

"Elizabeth's oratory is praisd by contemporaries. 'Prince' was applied to her as well as to men, being used as equivalent to our 'sovereign';[1] and Shakspere plainly meant his English audience to understand that he spoke of the English queen, whose speeches some of them had heard. In like manner, when he made Lorenzo talk to Jessica of the glory of the floor of heaven, 'thick inlaid with patines of bright gold,' Shakspere meant his audience to know that this was his own feeling about the starlit sky; just as he meant them to realise that he was speaking of what he and some of them had seen in an English field, when he made Lorenzo ask Jessica, bred in the horseless Venice of canals, as if she had been an English country girl, to

> "'Note a wild and wanton herd,
> Or race of youthful and unhandled colts,
> Fetching mad bounds, bellowing and neighing loud. . .
> If they but hear perchance a trumpet sound,
> Or any air of music touch their ears,
> You shall perceive them make a mutual stand,
> Their savage eyes turned to a modest gaze
> By the sweet power of music. . .'

[1] 'Prince' was common for 'princess.' Cf. Greene's *Dorastus*, ed. Thomas, 1907, p. 24: 'for, seeing she was a prince, she ought to be tried by her peers.'

Shakspere's personality is, of course, in all his plays, and his native land is in most of them."

The whole of the Period is full of satires on contemporary fashions, and allusions to contemporary affairs. Throughout, from time to time, we come upon reminiscences of Stratford scenes and characters. Stories which were begun in Period I. are continued here; the history of Henry IV., and the men who helpt to lift him into power, goes on. Rosalind and Celia repeat in part the story of Julia and Silvia in the *Two Gentlemen;* the device of mistaken identity employd in the *Dream* and the *Errors* is used again in *Twelfth Night.* The attention to Italian models and tales which began in Period I. is carried further in Period II. and will advance yet in Period III. For the *Venus* and *Lucrece* we have the 'sugard' *Sonnets.* Shakspere's love of music is shown in several of the plays, and his love of animals and flowers in most.

The Period is an advance in every way on all that has gone before, in characterisation, in power, in knowledge, in the greater attention to contemporary characters, in wit, in wisdom, in political insight, in the use of contrast, in pathos, in the presentation of suffering, in the higher types of men and women portrayd; and correspondingly there is a great advance in those metrical developments which we showd to have begun in Period I. The proportion of double endings increases considerably: in the First Period Shakspere used only 8 per cent. in his verse; in the Second the rate increases to 11·2 per cent. Light and weak endings in Period I. are as rare as ·162 per cent.; in Period II. they are used in the proportion of ·359 per cent. The ryme used diminishes in quantity; the ratio between the ryme and blank-verse in the First Period was as 1: 3·3; in the Second Period it is only as 1: 10·04. These results speak for themselves.

The First Period alone made Shakspere famous; the great figures of the Second became commonplaces in literature, and the name of Shakspere was revered, and his works admired, till praise became a habit, and

eulogy of his characters a matter of course. Meanwhile his contemporaries and successors did not hesitate to echo his words and borrow his ideas.

The Sources he employd in this Period are many and diversified. He read and used old plays for *King John*, the *Shrew*, *Henry IV.* and *Henry V.* Holinshed and Hall provided him with historic particulars. He had read the *Faerie Queene* of Spenser, Lodge's *Rosalynde*, Harrington's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando*, the *Gesta Romanorum*, Marlowe, Munday's translation of Silvayn's *Orator*, Giovanni's *Il Pecorone* (in a translation probably), "The Two Lovers of Pisa" by Straparola in Tarleton's *Newes out of Purgatorie*, the novels of Bandello in translations, Rich's *Apollonius*, *Gl' Ingannati*, an Italian play, Painter, probably Wyatt and Surrey, and Daniel's *Sonnets*.

CHAPTER SIX

THE THIRD PERIOD

JULIUS CÆSAR. — It is far from the story of the *Sonnets* to that of *Julius Cæsar*. We leave Shakspere's London and the tale of a man's heart, for Rome and the history of the struggle for the empire of the world. Yet in both *Sonnets* and play there is friendship broken, trust betrayd. The play opens with Cæsar's triumph. People throng the streets, rejoicing. Cæsar's glory is not wholly welcome. The man is too powerful, too ambitious. Brutus, his friend, is troubled; Cassius discovers it, and leads the noble Brutus to favor conspiracy against this colossus overshadowing the world. Cæsar fears the lean Cassius who sees thru men. He is offerd the crown, which he secretly wants, and which he thrice refuses amid acclamations. He acts before the people, swoons, is theatrical. The conspiracy progresses. Cassius wins men; in at Brutus' window is thrown a paper urging him to action. There are strange portents: the earth shakes; there is thunder; a lion is seen in the Capitol. The conspirators, Cassius, Casca, Decius, Cinna, Metellus Cimber, and Trebonius, call on Brutus at night. Brutus is won. Henceforward his spirit dominates them; thru his nobility they fall. Cassius would slay Antony, who loves Cæsar; but Brutus decides otherwise, and all agree. Cæsar is old and superstitious, vain and swayd by prophecies. A dream of Calphurnia's and the report of augurs stop him from going to the Capitol, where the senators would give him the crown. Decius, the conspirator, disposes of Cæsar's scruples; Cæsar goes. Artemidorus, a sophist, attempts to warn Cæsar of danger, but Cæsar brushes him aside. At the Capitol

the conspirators beg freedom for Publius Cimber, whom Cæsar refuses to liberate. Then all turn on him: Casca stabs him first; the others follow; and when Brutus plunged his steel into the body of Cæsar, who lovd him, Cæsar exclaimd in bitter reproach, '*Et tu, Brute?*' and fell, and died.

Tumult ensued: the god had fallen. Brutus allowd Antony to come from his house, whither he had fled in amazement, and address the people after him—a fatal error. Brutus quieted the people, and won them; Antony, showing them Cæsar's body, inflamed them into uncontrollable fury against the conspirators. They rusht hither and thither, mad to burn, to slay. Cinna, the poet, they killd, only for his name. Octavius Cæsar had then arrived in Rome. The conspirators had fled, and pitcht their camp near Sardis. Antony and Octavius marcht against Brutus. Cassius and Brutus had quarreld, and their cause was near wreck, when they again became friends. News comes that Portia—whose tender pleading with her husband Brutus is the most beautiful thing in the play—was dead, and that the forces of Antony were at Philippi. Brutus, to whom Cæsar's ghost had appeard, marcht to meet them, against Cassius' advice, and met disaster. Brutus, in the battle, gave too soon the word to advance. Cassius was killd, Titinius slew himself, Cato fell, Brutus fell on his sword and died; Octavius was triumphant. The finest character in the play is Brutus, whose nobility wins all to him.

HAMLET.—In *Hamlet* we turn from the Italy of Cæsar's day to the dark, northern land of Denmark. The story of *Hamlet* is a long one, and we can only briefly review it. The play opens on a winter's night at Elsinore. Horatio, Hamlet's friend, has come with others to see the ghost of Hamlet's father, which has before appeard to the sentries. The ghost comes in most stately manner, and when they try to hold it, disappears. We next see the king, Hamlet's uncle, who has wedded his mother and been but lately crownd,

permitting Laertes, son of Polonius, the chamberlain, to return to France, whence he had come for the coronation. Hamlet is sad and world-weary; he suspects already foul play to his dead father by his uncle; he wishes death were easier; he is shockt by his mother's marriage. The king and queen are perplext at Hamlet's conduct. Horatio tells him of the ghost, and he resolves to see it. Laertes warns his sister Ophelia against Hamlet's love, which can be only a passing thing; and his father first gives him a few old aphorisms as to his conduct abroad, and then again warns Ophelia, who promises to reject Hamlet's advances. Horatio, Hamlet, and Marcellus wait without Elsinore at night. The ghost comes; it motions Hamlet apart. Then he learns of his father's murder by his uncle, and is urged to take revenge, which he solemnly swears to do. His friends find him; them he binds by oaths to secrecy, and says he may feign madness. The super-crafty Polonius sets a spy on his son, and Ophelia tells him of Hamlet's strange entry into her chamber, sighing, regarding her strangely, his doublet unbraced, his stockings down. Polonius thinks this ecstasy of love is the cause of Hamlet's strangeness, tells the king and queen of his discovery, and shows them Hamlet's curious love-letter to his daughter. The king sends for Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to spy on Hamlet, and he and Polonius arrange to hide behind an arras while Hamlet meets Ophelia. Polonius meets Hamlet, and he gibes satirically at the old man, yet seeming unsound in his mind. Likewise he treats Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, who confess inability to sound him. Players arrive at Elsinore; Hamlet, who has not resolution to slay the king, has a scheme to try him by a play. Hamlet meets Ophelia, while Polonius and the king watch in hiding. There Hamlet adjures Ophelia to go to a nunnery, abuses women, and expresses loathing at marriage, birth, and the time-honord institutions of men. Ophelia thinks him mad; Polonius and the king are more puzzled. Hamlet

next gives the players good counsel on their art, and arranges his play, to which the whole Court comes, and which represents his father's murder. The guilty king starts up in fear before the play ends, and goes out. The queen is affected and sends for Hamlet to her chamber, where the son scourges his mother with bitter remonstrance, which renders the queen heart-broken. Polonius has secreted himself behind the arras; Hamlet, seeing a movement, makes a thrust with his sword and kills him, and afterwards secretes the body. To him appears again his father's ghost to whet his blunted purpose, and to it he prays for protection. The king has decided to send Hamlet to England with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern; he is stricken in conscience, and tries to pray, but cannot; Hamlet discovers him kneeling, and once more weakly puts off slaying him. He tells Hamlet afterwards he must go to England, to whose king he has treacherously addrest letters for Hamlet's murder. Ophelia's woes have now turnd her reason; we see her deckt with flowers, singing idle songs. Laertes, hearing of his family's misfortunes, arrives. He demands his father in rebellious terms; he sees his poor sister, and is stird to revenge. Hamlet has left for England, has been captured by pirates on the way, and having sent on his companions with letters for their death, returns to Elsinore, where the king has inflamed Laertes against him and promist a duel wherein Laertes may poison his foil. Ophelia is drownd; she is found floating on a stream, wearing fantastic garlands. Hamlet comes on the grave-diggers making her grave, where he moralises over the skull of Yorick the jester. The funeral *cortége* arrives; Laertes, in wordy grief, leaps into his sister's grave; Hamlet leaps in too, and rants. There is a struggle, and the two are separated. The duel is arranged. The king has provided two cups of wine, one poisond, and he will drink to Hamlet if he scores first hit. The queen takes up the poisond cup and drinks. In a scuffle the duellers change rapiers, and Hamlet

wounds Laertes with his own poisond weapon. The queen dies; Laertes falls; Hamlet stabs the king, and then dies thru his poisond wound, giving the election to the crown to Fortinbras of Norway. So all ends in death, and Hamlet has at last fulfild his oath. The play is the tragedy of a mind strong in imagination and overloaded with dismal thought, but weak in resolution, presented with a duty, private and public, to the execution of which it cannot rise, tho' the natural and supernatural combine in incentive.

MEASURE FOR MEASURE.—In *Measure for Measure* we move to Vienna, and have again an unpleasant subject for a play. The city is known as a morally lax one, and young Claudio has just got his sweetheart Juliet with child. The Duke has, for a time, given up his power to a severe Angelo, whose doom is that Claudio must die. His saintlike sister Isabella goes to Angelo to plead for her brother's life; and he, who thought himself above temptation, yields to it, and promises that he 'll save her brother if she 'll give up her chastity to him. She then visits Claudio in prison, and feels sure that he 'll set death for himself before the sacrifice of her honour; but he fears to die, and pleads with her, in some of the most eloquent words that Shakspere ever wrote, to let him live. She scorns him for his meanness and bids him perish. The Duke, who knows what has past, comes in as a friar, and arranges that Isabella shall seem to consent to Angelo, and then substitute in his couch Mariana, the once-betrothd of Angelo, whom he shamefully abandond when she lost her fortune. This is done; but Angelo decrees that Claudio shall still be put to death. Before this can be done, however, the Duke discloses himself, resumes his power, bids Claudio wed Juliet and Angelo marry Mariana, while he himself claims Isabel as his bride. There is an underplot of loose, immoral folk, which may well be left out here.

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.—This play takes us to Homer's Troy, and, like *Measure for Measure*, is a story of lust. Troilus, the good soldier, loves Cressida, whose

despicable uncle, Pandarus, goes between them and inflames one for the other. Cressida, after affecting disdain for Troilus, in order the better to win him, at last gives him her love. This story is set in the larger one of the Trojan War, fought for Paris's lust. The Greek leaders, with sententious rhetoric, discuss the war; and Ulysses shows that Troy stands because of division among the Greeks, lesser men imitating the sullen Achilles who holds himself apart. Hector challenges a Grecian to single fight, and the Greeks select the boastful and blockish Ajax, so as to arouse envy in Achilles. The Trojans discuss delivering up Helen and ending the war; but against this, Troilus strongly stands; and the war goes on, despite the prophetic ravings of Cassandra. Achilles is askt to fight, but refuses; he is then slighted by all, and lectured by Ulysses, much to the injury of his pride. Calchas, Cressida's father, who has deserted Troy for the Greeks, asks that Antenor, a prisoner, be exchanged for his daughter. The Greeks agree, and Diomed is entrusted to return Antenor to Troy and bring back Cressida. Diomed goes, and in Troy gives Paris strong opinions about his idolised Helen. Cressida and Troilus have spent the night in Pandarus's house. Cressida refuses to go, but soon consents. She has before sworn eternal fealty to Troilus, and repeats her oaths departing, with a sleeve of Troilus's for a keepsake. Diomed promises to govern his lust. When Cressida arrives she is kisst by all the chief Greeks, except Ulysses, who detects the language of lust in her every gesture. The much-mouthd combat ends in nothing; Hector feasts with the Greeks, and Achilles boasts on the morrow to slay him, but is afterwards withheld by a letter from Polyxena, whom he loves. Troilus is in the Greek camp, and goes with Ulysses to watch at Calchas' tent, where Cressida rests. Thersites, whose savage and scurrilous utterances, full of satire and abominations, form a fitting chorus throughout the play, goes too. There Troilus's heart is wrung by Cressida's amorous play with Diomed,

and her giving his sleeve to the Greek for a token, which he says he 'll wear in his helm. 'Lechery, lechery,' says Thersites; 'still, wars and lechery.' On the morrow Hector goes to the field, despite the entreaties of his kin. Cressida writes to Troilus, who destroys her letter. Afterwards he meets Diomed in the field, fights with him, and has his horse captured, which is sent to Cressida. Hector kills Patroclus, Achilles's friend, and at last Achilles is roused to fight. He goes to battle, but behaves like a sneak and coward, surrounds Hector with his myrmidons, and so overcomes him, and ties his body at his horse's tail. The play ends with the curse of Troilus on Pandarus. The play is a heavy satire on the renownd heroes of antiquity; the tender Criseyde of Chaucer is debased into a mere wanton; Pandarus is a despicable clown.

OTHELLO.—In *Othello* we turn to the city of canals, and to Cyprus in the blue Mediterranean. Lust, hatred, and jealousy are our themes. Othello, a splendid Moor in the service of the signiory, has wed Desdemona, the daughter of Senator Brabantio, she discerning the nobility beneath his dark skin, and loving him for his manhood and the dangers he has past. Iago, the Moor's ancient, and his secret foe, awakes Brabantio at night, and tells him in foul terms of his daughter's flight. Before the Senate, Brabantio accuses Othello of spells and witchcraft over his daughter. Othello in plain, noble words tells the story of his love, and Desdemona simply and innocently tells how she was won. Brabantio professes resignation. Othello and his wife set off for Cyprus for the Turkish war. Iago goes too, with his foolish dupe Roderigo, and Cassio the Moor's lieutenant. Othello and Desdemona are parted at sea by storm, but meet happily and affectionately at Cyprus. Iago formulates his devilish plot to wreck the Moor's love and life, by insinuating lust on Cassio's part for his wife. He tries to excite Cassio to amorous thoughts, makes him drunk, and incites him to attack Roderigo. An alarm rings; Othello

enters; Iago, professing to screen Cassio, vilifies him; Cassio is ignominiously dismisst, and is broken-hearted. Iago arranges, thru his wife Emilia, Desdemona's maid, that Cassio shall meet her mistress, to plead for him to the Moor; and bringing Othello by at the time, makes exclamations of alarm, arousing Othello's suspicions. This is the beginning of a long course of vile insinuation and foul lies which convinces the Moor he is wrongd. Iago gets from his wife a handkerchief that Othello first gave to Desdemona, and swears to Othello she has given it to Cassio. When she pleads for the dismist lieutenant, Othello demands the handkerchief. It is missing. His belief is more confirmd. Cassio gives the handkerchief to Bianca, his mistress, having found it in his chamber. Iago chats to him quietly about Bianca, and Othello hears his replies, thinking he speaks of Desdemona. Bianca enters in a temper and gives him the handkerchief back. Othello is now assured. The hot fires of wrath and vengeance burn within him: he strikes his fair wife in public. Tho' Emilia swears Desdemona is true, Othello pursues unrelentingly his revenge. Iago has led Roderigo to attack Cassio at night, but he himself maims Cassio, and stabs Roderigo dead. Into Desdemona's bedchamber Othello goes; he kisses her; he tells her death is near, and, in spite of her pleading, he strangles her. Emilia comes with news that Cassio has killd Roderigo. She learns Othello's crime, proclaims his wrong, and cries for help. Iago and others enter. Emilia tells the true story of the handkerchief. Othello realises his monstrous act, and runs at Iago, who stabs Emilia, and escapes. He is captured, and returns with Cassio; he is wounded by Othello, who slays himself, and falls on Desdemona's body. Iago is sent off to punishment; Cassio is made governor.

MACBETH.—From the bright south we travel to the gloomy north once more, to Scotland. The play opens with three foul witches on a heath. Macbeth, 'Bellona's bridegroom,' has done valiant service against Macdonald,

rebel to King Duncan. Macbeth, and Banquo his fellow-general, are met by the witches, with their weird spells; Macbeth is haild as thane of Glamis, thane of Cawdor, and king; Banquo as greater than Macbeth, father of kings. Then the witches vanish. Immediately, Ross and Angus meet the generals, and proclaim that the king makes Macbeth thane of Cawdor. One step in the prophecy is fulfild. Macbeth is kindled to seek higher things. He gives the king allegiance, but writes to his wife of the supernatural and prophetic utterances which stir him. Macbeth is kind; his wife would have him great, would take the nearest way,—murder. News comes that King Duncan will rest with Macbeth that night. Lady Macbeth rises to a terrific pitch of evil resolution, unsexes her woman's nature, and prepares for Duncan's death. Macbeth is conscience-troubled; only the tremendous resolution and daring of his wife nerve him to undertake the crime. An invisible dagger dances before his eyes. With the courage of desperation he enters the king's chamber, where his wife has drugd the grooms, and stabs Duncan. He hears strange voices; the terror of guilt is on him; his hands are smeard with blood. Lady Macbeth takes back the daggers Macbeth has brought away, lays them by the grooms, and smears them with Duncan's blood. Macduff on the morrow goes to call the king, and returns screaming of horror. The castle inmates rise in terror; Malcolm and Donalbain, the king's sons, make their escape; Lady Macbeth affects to swoon; Macbeth slays the grooms for the crime, and is afterwards crownd at Scone. Banquo suspects him. Macbeth would cheat him of the witches' promise that he should be father of kings, and gets two murderers to waylay him and his son Fleance. Macbeth is in mental torture, and sends a third murderer to make sure. Banquo is killd; Fleance escapes. At a feast which Macbeth gives, Banquo's ghost sits in the king's chair. At Macbeth's repeated exhibitions of uncontrollable terror the feast is broken up. Duncan's sons are accused of killing him, and Fleance of killing Banquo, but the

true murderer is soon known. Macbeth seeks knowledge from the witches. Three apparitions tell him to beware Macduff, the thane of Fife; that none of woman born shall harm him, and that he shall never be conquerd till Birnam Wood go to Dunsinane. Duncan's son Malcolm is in England, and Macduff goes there to win the help of Siward, while his wife and children and household are cruelly murderd by Macbeth. He and Malcolm get soldiers and march north, yearning for revenge. Lady Macbeth has broken down, is afraid of darkness, walks by night, and ever tries to wash from her hands the blood her eyes see on them. The Scotch are in arms against Macbeth, and join the English forces near Birnam Wood. Macbeth, tho' desperate, thinks himself safe, and makes a bold show. Lady Macbeth dies. News comes that Birnam Wood moves towards Dunsinane (the soldiers are carrying boughs above their heads for screens). In the battle against Macbeth, the king slays young Siward, and is faced by Macduff, who proves to have been prematurely born, and therefore is excepted from the condition made by the apparition, and he slays Macbeth. Malcolm is king. Thus ends the story of an ambition which used all means for its accomplishment, and entaild its own terrible Nemesis.

KING LEAR.—Old Lear decided to give up government, and divide his realm between his three daughters —Goneril, Regan, and Cordelia—first asking them which lovd him most. The first two gave profuse expressions of affection, before which sham Cordelia said nothing. Lear, in rage, divided his land between his two eldest daughters, and gave Cordelia nothing. Neglected as she was, the young King of France took her for his wife, and Kent, who had remonstrated with the rash old man, was banisht. Lear was to spend some time with Goneril, and some with Regan. He first goes to the former. He has struck one of her men; she is enraged, and tells her servants to neglect him. She storms at him herself, rebukes, abuses and threatens him, and asks him to dismiss many men. He begins to see his folly in

giving up his land and injuring poor Cordelia. Cursing this ungrateful daughter, he turns to Regan, to whom Goneril has sent before him. Kent, whom he had banisht, joins him in disguise, and serves him well. His fool gives him loving and bitter jests on his folly all along. Kent goes before to Regan at Gloster's castle, and gets put in the stocks, tho' Gloster protests. Here Lear is treated worse than before; is told to return to Goneril and ask for pardon. Goneril enters, and the sisters would deprive Lear of all his men, and so abuse him that the old man, his reason failing, goes to a wild heath in a tremendous storm, with his fool. Kent follows and finds him. The underplot is, that Edmund, Gloster's bastard son, by his cunning plots deceives his father that his legitimate son, Edgar, would murder him, and persuades Edgar to fly to hiding. He goes to the heath, and lives there almost naked, like an 'Abraham man,' and calls himself Poor Tom. King, fool, and Kent, meet him. Rumors of discord between Albany and Cornwall arise. The French, hearing of Lear's wrongs, have landed at Dover, and Kent sends a messenger to tell all news. Lear has been raging bare-headed in the storm, and talking idly with Poor Tom, when Gloster, in pity, arrives and takes all the party to shelter. Thence Lear, his reason quite gone, is carried towards Dover. Gloster is betrayd to Cornwall by Edmund. Cornwall puts out his eyes, and in doing so is slain by a servant. Gloster is then led to Dover by Edgar, whom he does not know. Albany and Regan (with Edmund) have combined against the French, tho' Albany is indignant at the sisters' conduct, and these two are rivals for Edmund's love. Lear is found mad, dressed in fantastic weeds and flowers, and is taken to Cordelia, who has him cared for. Goneril incites Edmund to slay her husband, Albany; and Edgar warns Albany of Edmund's villainy. In the battle, Edmund and Albany are victorious; Lear and Cordelia captured. Edgar and Edmund fight, and Edmund is slain, sending before he dies to stop his order for Lear's and Cordelia's

death. But Cordelia by then is dead. Goneril poisons Regan, and stabs herself. We see the poor old king, heartbroken, with his dead Cordelia in his arms, watching her cold lips for the motion which is theirs nevermore. Then he dies too.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.—This magnificent play shows us again the Antony who pleaded for Cæsar, but a fallen Antony. He is slave to the voluptuous Cleopatra, who holds him from duty. He learns from Rome that Fulvia, his wife, is dead, and that Pompey has defied Cæsar, and is in arms. With a great effort he breaks from Cleopatra and goes to Rome, where all discuss his debasement. There he meets Cæsar; a sort of friendship is arranged, and Antony weds Cæsar's noble sister, Octavia, resolving to lead a worthier life. But Enobarbus, his friend, says nothing can hold him long from Cleopatra; and when a soothsayer bids him leave Cæsar and Rome, he wants his Egyptian again. Antony and Cæsar meet Pompey; an agreement is made, and all go to a feast, where Menas tempts Pompey to murder his guests, and so win empire—a temptation which Pompey dismisses. Then for a time all is well; Antony has promist fidelity to Octavia. Cleopatra in Egypt is lost without Antony, dreams of him, and hears all news of him with jealous anger. Then Antony, in Athens, hears Cæsar is warring again on Pompey, has seizd his friend Lepidus and debased him. Antony gathers forces. Octavia goes to Rome to sue for peace, and arrived there, learns that Antony has fled to Cleopatra, and made her absolute in Egypt. Cæsar goes against Antony, who fights him at sea for bravado. In the fight, when advantage is with him, Cleopatra foolishly turns her ships, and flies; Antony follows. Cæsar is then master, refuses to consider Antony's petitions, and asks Cleopatra to yield him up. Antony whips Cæsar's messenger, collects his forces, and prepares for battle, challenging Cæsar to single fight. Cæsar laughs. In the battle Antony wins; but next day in the engagement, he tells us, Cleopatra has ruind

his chance, and this time for ever; she has disposed with Cæsar, his men have joind Cæsar's, and gone carousing with them. He curses the woman he loves; she leaves him in grief, goes to a monument, and sends word she is dead. Antony falls on his sword, but does not die, is carried to Cleopatra, and dies as she kisses him. Cæsar sends to Cleopatra, promising kindness, but intending, as she knows, to exhibit her in Rome. She is seizd, but has got asps from a peasant, and applying them to her breast and arm, she dies. Her women die too. So ends Antony, having lost his greatness for the splendor and sensual revels of this passionate, impulsive Egyptian, thinking that one of her tears rates all that is won and lost.

CORIOLANUS.—This play gives us a picture of the struggle between the Ligurian plebeians of Rome and the Sabine patricians, their masters. Before the populace, hungry with famine, clamoring for innovations, the patricians recede. Yet Caius Marcius steps forward and bursts into vituperation of the frenzied people who hate him. The Volscians are at war with Rome, and Marcius victoriously commands the forces against them. In his absence the populace are satisfied, corn is distributed, and tribunes are granted them, who prove ignoble and unscrupulous. Marcius, now calld Coriolanus for his valor, is receivd back with acclamations by his old foe, the people, and the error is made of electing him consul. For this office he has to beg votes of the people, and show his wounds. He does so, and is elected, but the people's tribunes inflame the mob against him, and then tell Coriolanus of the mob's attitude. He lashes the people with bitter words, and the old hatred is reborn. Meantime the Volscians are marching on Rome. To unite Rome, and so savè it, Volumnia prevails on her son to bow his head again, and face his accusers. It was a fatal error; his temper could not stand it. To the evil, reckless accusations of the tribunes he thunders his scorn and hatred of their baseness. He is banisht, and joins the Volscians. Rome is in paroxysms

of fear. Who shall save it now? Volumnia, with Coriolanus's wife Virgilia and his son, and Valeria, go to him and, after long battery, take his stubborn heart. Rome is saved. Coriolanus turns towards Antium, but jealousy has rankled in the heart of Aufidius the Volscian, and treachery goes before the Roman to Antium. When he arrives at the city he is treacherously slain, crying his indignation.

TIMON OF ATHENS.—In *Timon* we turn from Rome to Athens. Timon, a noble, lavishly and foolishly squanders his money in feasts, shows, and presents. He seeks to bind men to him by pandering to their basest tastes. His land is sold; his debt increases. One of his creditors, a senator, demands his money, and then bills flow in, till Flavius, Timon's faithful steward, knows not what to do. Timon refuses to hear of his condition, and then abuses Flavius for not telling him. Timon will appeal to his friends. The senators have already refused to help. Flaminius, expecting a present, sends back Timon's man with refusal. Lucius, expecting a present too, regrets he isn't just then furnisht with money. Sempronius is offended at being troubled at all, and then expresses annoyance that Timon did not send to him first. So all refuse, and Timon is dund by his creditors' servants, whom he drives from the house. He then invites all his false friends to feast once more. The feast is servd in coverd dishes; and when the covers are removed the dishes are full of water, which Timon with imprecations throws at his guests. He then leaves Athens for ever, cursing mankind. Meantime, Alcibiades has askt the Senate for the life of a friend condemnd for a foul crime, and is refused. He bursts into anger, and is banisht, and goes to get men to march against Athens. Timon repairs to the woods, and, digging for roots, finds gold. There he is visited by Alcibiades and his army and mistresses; by Apemantus, a cynic, come to curse; by a poet and painter, greedy for gold; and by Flavius, who touches his heart. To all he gives

gold, and to all, except Flavius, curses. The senators, in fear over Alcibiades, beseech him to return to Athens. He refuses, and curses all. The senators beg Alcibiades to spare the city, promising that the guilty against him shall die. To this he consents. Then a poor soldier, who has found Timon's tomb, arrives with his epitaph, which Alcibiades reads.

Review of the Third Period

Let us now cast a glance over those plays of the Third Period which we have just detaild. That Third Period opend in 1601, the year of the petted Essex's rebellion against Elizabeth; and we see in *Julius Cæsar*, not only Shakspere's public lesson of political wisdom (as in his early Historical Plays) to his countrymen, but also his private feeling of that ingratitude, treachery, of the closest friend of his hero, which in his Third Period he so often repeated. We see illustrated, in the suicide of the misjudging yet noble Brutus, and the insanity and suicide of his equally noble wife, the lesson of the Third Period, that the generous are the victims of the designing, and that for all misjudgment and crime comes death to the misjudger, the criminal,—if Brutus may be so calld,—and the innocent woman whose life is bound up in his. In *Hamlet* we see the bright and happy life of the young prince darkend by the lust and ingratitude of his mother, eclipst by the revelation of his ungrateful uncle's foul murder of his father; while on him, more unfit than Brutus for his task, was laid the burden of revenge. We see the many shirks from doing his duty of which Hamlet was guilty, and yet how at last, and, as it were, under the pressure of that 'Providence that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will,' the Danish prince in his own death carried out the task his father set him, and again proclaimd that for weakness, misjudgment, as well as crime, death is the penalty on the wrongdoer; while the sweet, weak Ophelia, who lovd him, shared his fate.

We then turn to *Measure for Measure*, and in this, one of the so-calld comedies of the Period, we have a moral of like kind preacht: in the way you have sind, in the same shall you be punisht: atonement you shall make, not shirk. And though this play was calld a comedy, we notice the strong contrast of its gloom of lust and filth with the bright, health-giving, outdoor air of all but the last of Shakspere's second-time comedies. Yet above this lust and filth rises, radiant as a star, the figure of the 'ensky'd and sainted' Isabella, God's handmaiden, who could not be unclean.

Troilus and Cressida comes next, with the bitter, foulmoutht Thersites as its expounder and philosopher. The great early poem of the history of the western world, the lifelong delight of a Gladstone, is stript of all its romance; and the Trojan War is shown in its bitterest, vulgarest reality, as a mere struggle for a harlot-wife, to gratify a cuckold-husband's revenge. Every one is mean, every one acts from low motives. Ulysses is just a clever wire-puller, Ajax a bragging fool, Achilles a petty, spiteful chief, who doesn't even dare to meet his tired enemy alone. Hector prefers a childish notion of honor to right, and patriotism, and good sense. Cressida, so beautiful in Chaucer's picture, is debased into a mere wanton. No light of nobleness is on the play except in the short reception of Hector by Nestor in the Grecian camp. The end of the war is not given; but Cassandra's voice tells us it is at hand. Lust and selfishness still prevail, and the noble, misjudging Hector has judgment here,—

> "He's dead; and at the murderer's horse's tail,
> In boastly sort, dragged through the shameful field."

Othello comes next: and we are allowd for a while —but oh, so short a one—to dwell on the sweet picture of the hero's winning, and wooing, and wearing his beautiful bride. But the treacherous, trusted friend, "honest Iago," the devil in man's shape, is soon at work,

with his suggestion to Othello of that lust which overshadowd *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure*, and chaos has come again; the noble and generous Moor is the easy victim of his "honest" friend; all Desdemona's beauty, and touching tho' misjudging innocence, are turnd into evidences of her guilt; and she, the pure and guiltless, lies stifled on her bridal bed by the husband who'd set his life upon her faith. Soon his own murderer's hand lets out his own life-blood; and again the terrible Third Period lesson is enforced: for misjudgment, unreasoning jealousy, crime, death is the penalty; no time for repentance is allowd; the innocent must suffer with the guilty.

Macbeth follows. The powers of another world are calld in to help forward the ruin of two human souls ready to fall. For the first time Shakspere has unsext the woman's nature he so reverenced and lovd (Queen Margaret of 2 and 3 *Henry VI.* is not wholly his), and has made ambition turn to gall that mother's love, with whose self-forgetfulness and pathos Constance's heart-wrung utterances still fill our souls. For the first time he has turnd—though here but for a while—a woman to a demon. The traitor-couple murder their king and friend. The act would, they thought—

> "To all (their) nights and days to come,
> Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom."

They'd "jump the life to come." Yet, as Macbeth feard, "We still have judgment here." And so they found it. One they were no longer. Sin kept them apart. Nights they had no longer. "Macbeth, sleep no more;"—"You lack the season of all nature, sleep;"—"All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand." Days of sovereign sway they had not; neither joy, nor calm content:—

> "Better be with the dead,
> Whom we, to gain our peace, have sent to peace,
> Than on the torture of the mind to lie
> In restless ecstasy,"——

but judgment here: death, under the pangs of conscience, for his wife; death, from Macduff's sword, for Macbeth. In no play of the time is the lesson of the Third Period more directly preacht than in *Macbeth*.

The terrors and horrors of *Lear* follow. Two women are here unsext, and far more terribly than in Lady Macbeth's case. The ghoul-like lust and fiendish cruelty and ingratitude of Goneril and Regan render them the most repulsive figures in all Shakspere. By their side stand Edmund—a second Iago (what a contrast to the noble Bastard Faulconbridge in *John!*)—and Cornwall, almost as bad. Ingratitude of daughters, treachery of a son,—driving fathers to despair, to madness, and to death,—infidelity of a wife, plotting her husband's death, and poisoning her sister, to gratify her own lust, the heavens themselves joining in the wild storm of earthly passions, and witchcraft lending itself to enhance their terrors. But still there rises above the foul cauldron of vice the gracious figure of Cordelia, who cannot lie; only when the avenger comes, when judgment is given here, she, the innocent, lies dead among the guilty.

Antony and Cleopatra comes next, with its gorgeous Eastern color, its most wonderful study of a woman that Shakspere ever made. Yet lust and orgies are its theme, the ruin of the noble soul who so lovd Cæsar and revenged him. We saw how brilliantly he disproved Brutus's mean estimate of him; we heard the unstinted praise that his rival, Cæsar's nephew, gave him for his daring, his generous sharing of all his soldiers' hardships; we saw him tear himself from the arms of the superb paramour who'd enthrald him, and wed that "piece of virtue" (in Cæsar's words), that "gem of women" (as he calld her), noble Octavia, and we hoped that his redemption was nigh. But alas, the lift was but that his fall might be the greater. Again he betook himself to the poison of Cleopatra's charms, and under them lost all that men value most, judgment, honor, manliness, the courage that was his boast, and sank to a

dishonourd suicidal grave, the senseless victim of his paramour's deceit;[1] while she, from dread of vulgar taunts, died—theatrically-vain and ease-seeking to the last—the gentlest death she could secure, that of asps' bites on her breast.

Coriolanus follows. The noble, high-born warrior is ruind by class-pride. He cannot stoop to seek, at the hands of its givers, the honor that his noble mother has so long longd-for him, the honor that his brilliant deeds of arms for them, his fellow-citizens, have won. He was born to rule them, not to beg of them. And when, in their quick fit of ingratitude at his scorn—scorn almost as bitter as Thersites'—they turn on him, as they'd done before, from meaner motives, on Brutus,—the selfishness at the bottom of all aristocratic pride comes out. Coriolanus puts himself, his own desire of revenge for personal wrong, above his country, and joins her foes. Her life is already in his grasp, and he means to take it, when the splendid figure of his mother—the grand Volumnia, who loves honor and Rome above herself—kneels before him, and wife and boy help him to rise to his own true height, and forgive, not revenge. "Think'st thou it honourable for a noble man still to remember wrongs?" a prelude of the coming Fourth Period. But, for his mistake, comes judgment here: Coriolanus dies by Volscian hands. His innocents are not involvd with him. They live on in Rome.

Lastly comes *Timon*, with its weakly generous, misjudging hero, giving his all to those whom he thought friends, finding them all desert him in his hour of need, and then withdrawing, with curses on all mankind, to get out of the sight of his fellow-men. "I am *misanthropos*, and hate mankind." And so he ends, "who, alive, all living men did hate." He, too, has judgment here. The gloom of the play is relievd by no gracious female figure—two harlots,

[1] Antony runs on his own sword, Eros having first killd himself to avoid killing Antony.

greedy for gold, are the only women introduced—and the faithful steward alone is true.

Now look at the mass of evil, of sacrifice of good to ill, of triumph of the base over the noble, that this Third Period represents. Admit gladly that over all the hell-broth of murder, lust, treachery, ingratitude and crime, there rise the three radiant figures of Isabella, in her saintliness and purity; Cordelia, in her truth and daughter's love; Volumnia, in her devotion to honor and her country. Think, too, of the one gleam of happy coming bridal between Isabella and the Duke. But look on the other side, at Cæsar, Brutus and the noble Portia dead; Hamlet and Ophelia dead too; likewise Othello, Desdemona and Emilia; Macbeth and his wife, Banquo, Macduff's wife and all his little ones; Lear, Cordelia and eyeless Gloster, besides Regan, Goneril, Cornwall, Edmund; Hector's gory corpse, Antony self-slain, Cleopatra too, Coriolanus murderd, Timon miserably dead. Think of the temper in which Shakspere held the scourge of the avenger in his hand, in which he felt the baseness, calumny, and injustice of the world around him, in which he saw, as it were, the heavens as iron above him, and God as a blind and furious Fate, cutting men off in their sins, involving the innocent with the guilty. Compare for a minute your memories of Shakspere's patriotic brilliant Second Period. Set the abounding, the overflowing happy life of that, against the bitterness, the world-weariness, of this terrible Third Period, and then decide for yourselves whether this change in Shakspere was one of artist only,[1] or, as I believe, one of man too; and whether

[1] I do not admit as a sufficient answer, that which, of course, rises in one's mind, that the change from Comedy to Tragedy, and then to Romantic Drama, involvd this change of tone and temper, independently of the author's own moods. I feel that Shakspere's change of subject in his different Periods was made mainly because it suited his moods, the different ways in which, on the whole, from Period to Period, he lookt on the world. Just contrast his Comedies of the First, Second, or Fourth Periods with those of his Third—*Measure for*

many of the Sonnets do not help you to explain it, with that "hell of time" through which their writer past:—

> "For if you were by my unkindness shaken,
> As I by yours, you've pass'd *a hell of time.*"
> —Sonnet CXX., l. 6.

Then turn to the Fourth-Period plays, and note the change again of temper and of tone. True that they deal with treachery, ingratitude, breach of family-relations, misjudgment, weakness. But where is the avenger here? He is hardly seen. True that Cymbeline's queen in her guilt, despairing, dies. The fool Cloten is killd. The young Mamilius, under the burden of his base father's accusation of the boy's noble mother Hermione, droops and dies: the one innocent life lost. But in the main, the God of forgiveness and reconciliation has taken the avenger's place; repentance, not vengeance, is what he seeks. And of all the plays, death is not the end, but life. In three of them the happy bridal life of such sweet girls as Shakspere never before drew, Marina, Miranda, Perdita; in one, the renewd married life of his queens of wifehood and womanhood, Imogen and Hermione; in one, the life of her who was to bring "peace, plenty, love, and truth"[1] to the England that, with all its faults, Shakspere lovd so well. You turn from the storm, the gloom, and the whirlwind of the Third Period, and see in the Fourth "a great peacefulness of light," a harmony of earth and heaven—sweet, fresh, English country scenes. And here, too, I see the change, not of artist only, but of man, of the nature of Shakspere himself in his new life in his peaceful Stratford home.

Measure, and *Troilus and Cressida* (if we so treat it); his Tragedy of the First Period—*Romeo and Juliet*—with those of his Third—*Hamlet*, *Timon*, &c.—and believe, if you can, that Shakspere's mind and spirit were as full of hope and as much at ease in the latter period as in the earlier. Even the judicial Hallam admits the change in Shakspere.

[1] Fletcher's words in *Henry VIII.*

The passage from Shakspere's Third Period to his Fourth always reminds me of the change in Handel's *Israel in Egypt*, from the magnificent series of the choruses of the plagues — among them, chief, the gloom and darkness that might be felt, and the terrors of the oppressors' cries for the death of their first-born—to the glad, spring-like, sylvan strain, "But as for His people, He led them forth like sheep"[1] (I hope all my readers know it).

"The metrical developments which we noted in the First and Second Periods, are kept up in this and increase greatly in proportion. Whereas in the Second Period the double endings were only used at the rate of 11·2 per cent., in the Third they are 22·08 per cent. Note the tremendous advance on Period I., where we had only 8 per cent. The same markt development is shown in the light and weak endings: figures for Period II. were ·359 per cent.; for Period III. they are 1·43 per cent.—again a remarkable contrast to Period I., where we had only ·162 per cent. Ryme decreases proportionately. The ratio in Period II. of ryme to blank verse was as 1 : 10·04; in Period III. it is as low as 1 : 25·8. Compare these last figures with those of Period I., where the ratio was as high as 1 : 3·3.

"Shakspere's reading is still wide and varied. For the classical historical plays, *Julius Cæsar*, *Antony*, *Coriolanus*, and *Timon*, he read North's *Plutarch*. He used earlier plays in *Hamlet* and perhaps in *Lear*. His old source, Belleforest, he referd to again. Chaucer's *Troilus*, Chapman's *Homer*, Caxton's translation of the *Recueil*, Lydgate's *Troy-Book*, Cinthio's *Hecatommithi*, Holland's *Pliny*, Holinshed's version of *Boece* and his *Chronicle*, Sidney's *Arcadia*, a pamphlet by Bishop Harsnet and Lucian's *Dialogues*, he read likewise.

"Meanwhile, the praise of his contemporaries, their references to, and borrowings from, his works, go on increasing."—M.

[1] This air, like many others of Handel's, was a borrowd one.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE FOURTH PERIOD

PERICLES.—This is a play of suffering, forgiveness, reunion after long parting. Pericles of Tyre, to win Antiochus's daughter, goes to rede the riddle he gives all suitors, does so, and knows it proclaims this king's incest. He flees, and a poisoner—who misses him—is sent after him to Tyre, by the king, who, with his daughter, is afterwards shriveld up. Pericles leaves Tyre for travel, and goes to Tharsus, where Cleon is governor, and gives all corn in famine. He goes to sea again, is wreckt, and cast up alone at Pentapolis, when fishers, whom he meets, drag up his armor in their nets. The next day he attends the jousts King Simonides holds for his daughter, is victorious, and weds her, the fair Thaisa. The men of Tyre, meantime, are impatient for their king, and Pericles prepares to return. At sea a daughter, Marina, is born to him during a storm; and Thaisa, his wife, apparently dies. The sailors insist she shall be cast overboard; she is put in a strong box and consignd to the sea. Pericles entrusts Marina to Cleon and his wife Dionyza, and goes to Tyre. Thaisa is cast up at Ephesus, where Cerimon, a kindly and sage man, revives her. Thinking Pericles dead, she takes vestal livery. Marina grows up in beauty and accomplishments with Philoten, Cleon's daughter. Of Marina's great superiority in every way, Dionyza is jealous, and employs a murderer, Leonine, to kill the girl. As he is about to do so on the sea shore, pirates enter and steal Marina. She is sold to bawds in Mitylene, where she overcomes all, even Lysimachus, the governor, by her beauty and purity.

She teaches, to win money for her masters. Cleon and Dionyza put up a mock tomb to Marina, and give out she is dead. Pericles goes for his daughter, and, hearing of her demise, is overcome with grief. He puts to sea, and is driven to Mitylene, where Lysimachus sends for Marina to cheer his melancholy. Father recognises child, and is overcome with joy. Diana appears to Pericles in a vision, and sends him to Ephesus, where he finds his wife once more. So, after many toils, storms, and sorrows, come peace, reunion, and love.

THE TEMPEST takes us to an enchanted island in a stormy sea, inhabited by Prospero, the rightful Duke of Milan—whom his brother Antonio has supplanted,—his lovely young daughter Miranda, and their brutal and misshapen slave Caliban. Prospero is an enchanter who can rule the wind, the waves, and all nature; and on him attend Ariel and other fairy spirits. By his device is wreckt on his island a ship containing his usurper-brother, the King of Naples, Alonso, with his handsome young son Ferdinand, his own brother Sebastian, and other nobles, and also Trinculo a jester, Stephano a drunken butler, and sailors. As soon as Ferdinand and Miranda meet, they fall in love with one another, and Prospero sets him to hew logs for her sake. Antonio conspires with Sebastian to murder Alonso and become king of Naples, but is stopt by Ariel at Prospero's bidding. Caliban gets Trinculo and Stephano to join in a plot to kill Prospero and let him ravish Miranda; but this is also frustrated by Ariel under Prospero's direction. Prospero then gives all the nobles a magic banquet, and makes the goddesses Iris, Ceres, and Juno appear, and bless Miranda and Ferdinand. He forgives all the wrongdoers; his brother returns him his kingdom; he gives up his magic powers, will sail to Naples to see his daughter wedded, and then retire to his Milan, where every third thought shall be his grave.

CYMBELINE takes us first to Britain and then to

Rome. The king of Britain is Cymbeline, whose two young sons are stolen from him, and brought up in Wales, by one of his nobles whom he has treated unjustly, while his daughter Imogen is left at his Court, and educated with her playfellow Posthumus, the orphan son of one of the king's warriors, whom she loves. Her mother dying, Cymbeline marries a wicked, artful widow with a brutal fool of a son named Cloten, whom his mother designs for Imogen's husband. When Cymbeline finds that Imogen has wedded Posthumus, he is furious, and banishes Posthumus, who goes to Rome, after giving his wife a special bracelet, while she gives him her dead mother's diamond ring. At Rome, Posthumus praises his wife's purity, and when Iachimo challenges it, he agrees that if Iachimo can make her commit adultery he will give him her diamond ring; if not, Iachimo is to forfeit 10,000 ducats. Iachimo comes to Britain, and tries in vain to tempt Imogen. So he gets taken into her room in a trunk, and, while she is asleep, notes all the hangings, &c., of the room, and a mark under her breast, and unclasps her bracelet, with which he steals away, and, on his return to Rome, convinces Posthumus that he has enjoyd his wife. Posthumus gives him the diamond ring, and, mad with anger, writes to his man Pisanio to take Imogen to Wales—as his letter to her asks her to go there,—and kill her. Pisanio goes with Imogen, but, instead of killing her, tells her of her husband's base want of faith in her, and his wish for her death. Pisanio then leaves her, giving her a drug to comfort her, which the wicked queen has given him, believing it to be poison, tho' it is only a powerful sleeping medicine. Imogen puts on boy's clothes; and when hungry she eats a meal she finds in a cave where her unknown brothers and their supposed father dwell. They welcome her and are most kind to her, and when she takes the queen's drug as a cordial, and goes into a deathlike sleep, they strew flowers on her and sing her dirge. Meantime, a Roman army has invaded Britain, with Posthumus and

Iachimo in its ranks. A battle between it and Cymbeline is won by the Britons, mainly by the valor of Cymbeline's two long-lost sons, their foster-father, and Posthumus, who joins his father-in-law's troops. Iachimo is taken prisoner, and—at the instance of Imogen, who has acted as page to the Roman general, also a prisoner—confesses his lying treachery to Imogen and Posthumus. She forgives her deceivd and repentant husband; and Cymbeline, having his sons restored to him, forgives the stealer of them, and Iachimo and the Roman general, and all is happiness and peace.

THE WINTER'S TALE (1611) is the last of Shakspere's genuine plays, and takes us to Sicily and Bohemia. Leontes, the king of Sicily, bids his pure and noble wife, Hermione, entertain his friend Polixenes, king of Bohemia; and then he most wrongly and maniacally accuses her of adultery with him, and orders her baby girl, Perdita, to be taken to some desert place out of his land, and left there. His innocent queen he has tried for adultery and for conspiring to kill him; but the Oracle at Delphos, whom he has sent to consult, of course declares her guiltless. He is told that she has died; and he then repents of his mad crimes, and says that he 'll daily visit the chapel where she, and her young son Mamilius, who really does die of grief, lie buried. The babe Perdita is left on the Bohemian coast, and is found and brought up by a shepherd. When she has grown to a lovely girl, the young Prince Florizel, the son of Polixenes, courts her in disguise, and they go to a sheep-shearing feast, where the most amusing and merry scamp that Shakspere ever drew, Autolycus, takes in all the countryfolk, and before and after swindles the old shepherd and his son. Polixenes finds his son at the feast, and utters terrible threats against him and Perdita, and her reputed father the old shepherd. But when the latter tells his story and produces 'the mantle of Queen Hermione, her jewel about the neck of it,' found with the babe, Perdita is recognised as the daughter of Leontes and Hermione.

Hermione, first posing as the statue of herself supposed to be dead, shows that she is alive. She forgives her sinning husband, and embraces Perdita; and all is happiness, and Perdita is troth-plighted to Florizel, and is one day to be queen of Bohèmia. The description of Perdita with her flowers at the feast is one of the most charming things in Shakspere's works.

KING HENRY VIII.—Of this poor play, Fletcher wrote the larger portion, while the smaller is by another hand, supposed by many to be Shakspere's, by a few to be Massinger's or some unknown writer's. It is in two parts—the triumph of Wolsey over Buckingham in the first; and in the second, Henry VIII.'s love for Anne Bullen, his divorce of Queen Katharine, and the marriage and coronation of Anne as queen, with the fall of Wolsey, and the prophecy of the greatness of Anne's daughter, the future Queen Elizabeth. We see first the rivalry of Buckingham and Wolsey, which ends in the trial and condemnation of the former, who goes to his death, complaining only of his servants who betray him to the king. Meantime, Henry has met and fallen in love with Anne Bullen—who tells an old lady that she wouldn't on any account be a queen—and has made her Marchioness of Pembroke and given her £1,000 a year. He pretends that his conscience is troubled because he married Queen Katharine who was before betrothd to his dead brother. She is tried; and tho' Wolsey opposes the divorce, it is granted; and the catalog of Wolsey's possessions having fallen into Henry's hands, he deprives Wolsey of his offices and gets his property. He then weds Anne, who is crownd with great state, and soon bears him—to his disappointment, for he wanted a son—a daughter, whose future glory is described in glowing terms. Cranmer, who has promoted Anne's marriage and succeeds Wolsey in Henry's favor, is accused of misdoings, but is favord by the king, and triumphs over his accusers. Wolsey's famous speech on his fall, so often attributed to Shakspere, is unquestionably Fletcher's.

REVIEW OF THE FOURTH PERIOD

The dark, ill-boding times of storm are over: we are now, as it were, in a golden morning, when the breezes have swept away the clouds of night; the sun shines; the birds sing; there is a scent of flowers in the air,—of violets and roses; cowslips, daisies, and marigolds[1] contrast with the green grass of the meadows; youth rejoices. These are the new days, with new lessons. They are full of peace and calm, mercy and forgiveness, reunion and reconciliation. In these later stories, 'so tender and so true,' that which was lost is found; the calm which of old could only be found thru the portals of death ('Duncan is in his grave; After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well') comes now to men on earth. Storms may sunder the lovd ones, foes rise up between; husband loses wife, and father child, and men, themselves, thru their own flaws and falseness banish and wrong the pure and the beautiful; but all shall come right in the end: the wrong shall repent and be pardond; the wrongd shall be born into a new life of love and happiness. To this end all the powers of the universe shall contribute, the highest wisdom that lies in man, the tenderness and devotion of woman, the spirits of the air, the gods of the heaven and the earth; the forces of evil shall be vanquisht, and all shall be well.

Surely a great contrast to what has gone before, not without significance and cause! Look thru the Four Periods of Shakspere's work and see if the story of a man's heart is not wrapt up in it. Think only of his uses of the fairy- and spirit-worlds as his labors progress. Note in *Midsummer-Night's Dream* the wanton, roguish, genial spirit of idle mischief, Puck, Robin Goodfellow, the merry wanderer of the night, who frightens the maidens, and labors in the quern; Peaseblossom, Cobweb, Moth, Mustardseed, and a host of other dainty fairies, tripping lightly in the moonlight between the nodding flowers, floating in air on their gossamer wings

[1] The Fourth-Period flowers.

over the floods and bushes, seeking the dewdrops in the bells of flowers and stealing the honey-bag from the humble-bee; Oberon, king of faerie, and queenly Titania quarrelling petulantly in the forest glades: all meddling in, and muddling up, the affairs of mortals, all of them children of dream. Contrast them with the Herne's Oak fairies of the more worldly Second Period pulsing with humor and patriotic rhetoric; Sir Hugh Evans, the Welsh Fairy: 'Trib, trib, fairies . . . be pold, I pray you'; Pistol as Hobgoblin: 'Where fires thou find'st unraked and hearths unswept, There pinch the maids as blue as bilberry'; merry Mistress Quickly and sweet Anne Page as fairies, too: all of them tripping round the crestfallen Falstaff, burning him with their tapers and pinching him black and blue. Then turn to the Third Period: see there the sad kingly spirit sweeping thru the gloom of Elsinore, releast from its purgation in the fires of an awful unseen prison-world, to incite a weak, vacillating man to revenge for foul, unnatural murder,—'eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot'; Macbeth confronted in the darkness by three secret, black and midnight hags, like women and yet bearded, like figures of earth and yet not of it, powers of darkness or leagued with it, wrecking the ship at sea, leaping and screaming in circle round their seething caldron of hell-broth with its loathsome ingredients, inciting a mortal to the foulest of murders with still more murderous consequences and final ruin. Turn then to the Fourth Period: celestial Dian, goddess argentine, appears to Pericles from the skies and sends him to find his wife and gain his longd-for peace and happiness; Cerimon uses his store of deep wisdom for the good of the suffering; Prospero on his magic island with its mysterious sweet voices carried on every breeze, king of the fair spirit Ariel that works for human weal, master of the monster Caliban that works for human harm, with power over all men, the winds and the sea, bringing Juno with the favor of destiny, Ceres with the favor of earth, Iris with the favor of heaven, and nymphs and

reapers with the favor, as it were, of mortals, to bless his daughter's wedding; and Jupiter, in *Cymbeline*, descends to Posthumus, foretells of an end to his trials, and of future happiness.

In these things is clearly reflected the different tempers of the Four Periods; and not in these only, but in the women characters also. The Third-Period good women are, all of them, like Juliet, environd in a world, harsh and unfavorable to the nobility of their characters,—a world which crushes most of them. Think of Portia, the gentle wife of Brutus, Cato's daughter, lost amid plots and assassination; Ophelia wrongd in her love, bereft of her reason, drownd; Isabella tried by temptation, yet coming thru unscathed in a city of sin; Desdemona whose simple and perfect womanhood cries out against the fate by which she is crusht; poor Lady Macduff deserted and murderd; Cordelia denied, banisht from her father, wrongd and slain; chaste Octavia wedded to Antony and deserted; Volumnia and Virgilia themselves made the instruments of that ruin they sought to avert. Then contrast them with the Fourth-Period women: Thaisa and Marina separated from Pericles, patient in adversity, re-united at last and finding happiness; Miranda, that splendid idealisation of pure young womanhood, unaffected, unsophisticated, untainted by one ungenerous thought or impulse, tender, pitiful, open-hearted, so different to the Stratford-type women of Period I., the merry, able, London-type women of Period II., the fate-stricken women of Period III., nurtured in the love and wisdom of a noble father, and receiving the love of a noble man; Imogen, belied, wrongd by her husband, but reconciled at last, forgiving all who have done her harm; Hermione, disgraced, thought to be dead, but suffering in silence, and finally, magnanimously forgiving the husband who had so injured her; Perdita, the fair shepherdess, fragrant with the breath of the open fields and wild flowers, lost to her kin, but found again, and taking part in the joyful reunion.

REVIEW OF THE FOURTH PERIOD

These Fourth-Period plays take us back to the joys of the simple life of nature—the Stratford life,—tell us of the wild flowers of the country-side, the goblin-tales of the people, the merry, roguish pedlar with his fairings for the maidens, the shepherds, the sheep-shearing;[1] and as the country scenes point to Shakspere's renewd life at Stratford, so the scenes of reconciliation between husband and wife, the love of fathers for their daughters, and their watchful care over their children's destiny, point to his renewd life with his wife Anne, and his care of his two daughters—all that then remaind alive of his children. The bitter scepticism over natural laws, the rebellion against sex, the terrible misgivings concerning the life to come which we found in Period III. have past by. Prospero's wisdom, temperd and increast by years of wrong, does not revolt against law, but abides by it, leads him to perceive that in its dominion his daughter may be blest, and helps him to procure for her that in which she may be most happy, the love of a true man. In Period III., when there was the tendency to regard the earth as nothing but a sterile promontory, and man as irrevocably fallen, what incentive could there be to rejoice at the propagation of the human race? Period IV. tells us, in contrast, that the way of the ages is enough, that youth takes up throughout all time the tale of age, that earth wants men, and therefore men want wives.

With the disappearance of tragedy, the principle disappears of concentrating the action in two or three main characters. Character is not less the dramatist's study, but there is a greater interweaving of themes; the canvas on which the artist paints is broader; there is less contrast of high lights and shadows. Iachimo is not so far removed from Imogen as Iago from Desdemona; Iachimo repents. The main story in *Othello* is never departed from; three or four streams of story intermingle in *Cymbeline*. It seems as if we return to Period I. in many things, in country life, in the

[1] An old folk-tale, even, forms one of the themes in *Cymbeline*.

portraiture of girls, in themes like the sleeping potion; but here the handling of materials is finer, characterisation is deeper, charity and forgiveness are everywhere; there is a calm seriousness in the plays, a philosophic standpoint; we are in a new heaven and a new earth.

The metrical developments which we have distinguisht all thru are still proceeding. For the 22·08 per cent. double endings in Period III. we have 30·8 per cent.; for the 1·43 per cent. light and weak endings we have the remarkable increase to 5·06 per cent.; for the ratio of ryme to blank verse of 1 : 25·8 we have the remarkable decrease to 1 : 53·8. Proportionately there are more song-lines in this period than in any other; there is no doggerel.

Shakspere still uses many of his old sources. Holinshed and Hall were used for *Henry VIII.*, which Shakspere probably did not write, and Holinshed for *Cymbeline;* Gower's *Confessio Amantis* was employd, Laurence Twine's *Patterne of Painfull Adventures*, old plays, many pamphlets, Hakluyt's *Voyages*, probably Boccaccio, Greene's *Pandosto*, and a folk-tale.

PERCENTAGES OF ENDINGS IN THE FOUR PERIODS

Period	Double Endings compared with Ryme and Blank Verse combined	Light and Weak Endings in Blank Verse	Proportion of Ryme to Blank Verse
First ...	8 %	·162 %	1 : 3·3
Second ...	11·2 %	·359 %	1 : 10·04
Third ...	22·08 %	1·43 %	1 : 25·8
Fourth ...	30·8 %	5·06 %	1 : 53·8

REVIEW OF THE FOURTH PERIOD

The foregoing Table disregards *Titus Andronicus*, *Henry VI.*, *Timon*, *Pericles*, *Henry VIII.*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*, all of which were certainly not wholly written by Shakspere, and some of which owe very little, if anything at all, to him. It shows, in a way that the cital of the bare figures could not do, the development of his style. In calculating the percentage of double endings I considered the ryme and blank verse combined; in calculating the percentage of light and weak endings, only the blank verse. The ratio of ryme to blank verse is given separately.—M.

CHAPTER EIGHT

My Experience in Shakspere Work

It has been my privilege to set the torch of Shakspere's genius to some young minds, and to see them kindle at its touch in a way that it has been one of the great pleasures of my life to witness. It has been my privilege, too, to bring for the first time before some lifelong students of Shakspere the order and succession of his works in their gradual development of power, and beauty, and wisdom, together with the oneness of these works through all their growth, and thus to give these students a quite new interest and delight in the great writer they had so long lovd. I hope this volume may be of like use to a larger number of people now. I am certain that the mere study of isolated plays must give way to the study of them as parts of a whole, and in relation to the other parts, as well as singly; that the study of Shakspere's works must be made like that of the works of every other great artist, painter, musician, &c., like that of the Creator's works—natural and scientific, and in the order of the maker's making. And I claim that the method I have pursued is that of the man of science, comparison, noting of differences and identities of expression, subject, character, mood, and temper of mind; and that this method and its results do bring a fresh element of certainty into the order of Shakspere's plays, and the groups into which they fall. The evidence of this order and grouping has come to me gradually and unexpectedly; and it is all undesignd evidence. The first thing that struck me on reading *Gervinus* was the absolute necessity of a Fourth Period for the latest Group of Plays, just as one had been wanted for Chaucer. Next, on a second reading of the plays, came

out the connecting link of the Errors or mistaken-identity fun between the three earliest plays. Then came the conviction—started by Professor Hales's chat to us at the New Shakspere Society—that Mr. Halliwell-Phillips' discovery of the allusion to *Julius Cæsar* by Weever in 1601, was justified by the internal evidence of the play;[1] and on working the subject out independently many months afterwards, I was surprised to find how strong and how many the links between *Julius Cæsar* and *Hamlet* were (several of these are given in the Introduction to *Julius Cæsar*), and that the former's place was clearly before *Hamlet*, and not after *Measure for Measure*,[2] as I had put it in my first table (*Gervinus*, Introduction, p. xliv.). Then at once showd itself the link of likeness of character; Brutus, Hamlet, Claudio, Angelo, all unfit natures for the task set them, of failing under the burden laid on them. Next came the position of the Poems. Following Gervinus, and many criticisms in print and out of it, I at first put the *Venus and Adonis* down as Shakspere's earliest work (*Gervinus*, Introd., p. xliv.). I then undertook to edit the "Leopold" volume of Shakspere. I wrote the Introduction to the *Venus*, and thought I had persuaded myself that it really was Shakspere's first work. But on turning to *Love's Labour's Lost* and the *Errors* after it, the absurdity was too apparent;[3] the poem clearly belongd to the Passion Group, which was prepared for by *The Two Gentlemen;* and, my youngest brother's death occurring

[1] Till then I had been struck only by the contrast of the characters of Brutus and Hamlet. On Shakspere's possible, though not probable, use of Appian in his play *Julius Cæsar*, see *New Shaks. Soc.'s Trans.*

[2] The strong temptation to put *Measure for Measure* next *All's Well* I had instinctively resisted from the first. *Troilus and Cressida* now follows *Measure for Measure*. I had previously put it next to *Antony and Cleopatra*, as I had mistakingly preferd the likeness of subject to the metrical evidence.

[3] John M. Robertson, M.P., in his very able volume, *Did Shakspere write "Titus Andronicus"?* (1906), criticises my placing several plays before *Venus* in 1593, in that Shakspere in his Dedication of that poem declares it to be "the first heir of my invention." I can only affirm

just at the time, I gave up my editing. Then, I had at first put *King John* in the First Period, from its dramatic weakness, its climax—if John's death can be so calld—having nothing to do with the motives of the play. But its variety of well-drawn characters, its richness and pathos as compared with *Richard III.*, its links with *The Merchant*, soon convinced me that it must be of the Second Period, and with *The Merchant* from the Life-Plea Group. *The Shrew* was difficult to place; but the kinship of Grumio's humour to Falstaff's, the admirable drawing of Petruchio's character,[1] showd that it must be close to, though before, 1 *Henry IV.*: and so on. It is by one's mistakes that one learns. Of course this method can be ridiculed by any little fool—April or other—who wants to raise a laugh, just as metrical tests have been: "There's a man and a woman in *The Tempest* and the *Dream*; therefore they are next to one another; 'the' and 'a' are in all the plays, therefore they were all written the same day," &c. But it must be a poor method or man that's put down by

> "A gibing spirit,
> Whose influence is begot of that loose grace
> Which shallow laughing hearers give to fools."
> —*Love's Labour 's Lost*, V. ii. p. 146.

Students must, too, have a certain knowledge of the succession of Shakspere's plays, in order to appreciate the value of the evidence. May I again refer to a mistake of mine—and a happy hit—to illustrate this?

that I hold that Shakspere in these words referd to poems and not to plays. The crack thing was to write verses, and we know that Shakspere, during the whole of his life, was never solicitous for the publication of his plays, tho' he issued his *Venus* and *Lucrece* as soon as he wrote them; and that his dramatic works, except in the case of the Folios after his death, were printed by piratical publishers.—M. *for* F. J. F.

[1] Every reading of plays near one another, brings out fresh links. One night at 2 *Henry IV.* my friend and colleague, Mr. F. D. Matthew, noted that Pistol's song-quotation (? when putting on his boots, 134), "Where is the life that late I led?" V. iii. p. 167, is Petruchio's when pulling off his boots, in *The Shrew*, IV. i. p. 101. It was no doubt a popular air that Shakspere himself may have sung at this time.

THE ORDER OF CHAUCER'S WORKS

When trying for the order and groups of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, I could at first find nothing better than to follow my best MS., the Ellesmere, and our best old editor, Tyrwhitt. But on sending up my scheme to the only man in the world who then knew anything about the subject, and had long workt in vain at it, Mr. H. Bradshaw, the sight of my mistake at once enabled him to solve both his own difficulties and mine. So in Chaucer's Minor Poems, I had followd the best leader and argument I could find and printed the *Dethe of Blanche the Duchesse* first. Then Mr. Bradshaw told me he had never been able to get a place for *The Compleynt unto Pite*. On a careful reading of it—never till then given—I saw it was Chaucer's first original poem, before the *Blanche*, and that the latter alluded to his love-sickness explaind in the *Pity*.[1] Mr. Bradshaw's knowledge of Chaucer—unequald it was, in these points—made him agree in this firstness of the *Pity*. But another man, with very much slighter knowledge of Chaucer details, could not agree—he hadn't had the special training to enable him to—and he made the comical suggestion that Chaucer's illness was due to the want of cash,[2] of which the poet complains in his very latest poem. Now the critic I want for the order and groups of Shakspere's plays is a Bradshaw; someone—a friend, I hope—who *knows;* who can say, "That play or group must come out of your wrong place, and go into my right one, there"; and whom one can gladly, delightedly, thank for setting one right. For in these small, as in greater matters, it 's—

> "What delights can equal those
> That stir the spirit's inner deeps
> When one that loves but knows not, reaps
> A truth from one that loves and knows!"
> —*In Memoriam*, xli. 9-12

[1] This poem also explains the cause of the great preponderance of melancholy thwarted-love poetry in Chaucer's early time, as contrasted with the prevailing humorous poetry of his Third Period.

[2] *Characteristics of English Poets*, p. 10. "Matrimonial pangs," Mr. Minto afterwards suggested in his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which contains some great blunders.

Chaucer was right in putting his clerk's "gladly wolde he lerne" before the "gladly wolde he teche": the learning's ever so much pleasanter. Why don't the men of the level of Tennyson, Spedding, Pater, Symonds, Dowden, Ingram—men of the past and present who have helpt in Shakspere labors,—do more for us at Shakspere? Wooden-heads, and pert know-littles, we've had in plenty. But we want the men who see.

The plays about the place of which there is most doubt, are the *Dream*[1]—which, after formerly shifting to follow *The Two Gentlemen*, I perhaps wrongly moved back again; *The Shrew; Troilus*—which I formerly placed after *Lear* and before *Antony* by reason of its subject, and now, with Prof. Dowden, place after *Measure for Measure*, with the tone of which play it is not out of keeping, in accordance with the metrical evidence; *The Merry Wives*—which I previously put after 2 *Henry IV.*, and now put after *Henry V.* If some plays are in their wrong places now, and get moved to their right ones, I have no doubt that a number of links of like phrases, thoughts, subjects, characters, will be perceivd between them and the plays lying next them. I believe, nay, assert, that down each side-edge of every one of Shakspere's plays are several hooks and eyes of special patterns, which, as soon as their play is put in its right place, will find a set of eyes and hooks of the same pattern on the adjoining play to fit into. This was oddly the case with *Julius Cæsar* when put into its right place before *Hamlet*. And the only exception to the rule is, where an entirely new or different subject like this *Julius Cæsar* is started, after such a succession of comedies as closes Shakspere's Second Period: in this case the links, the hooks and eyes, on the left edge of the new play may be wanting. Note too, that, as in conjunctions, we have both copulative and disjunctive ones, so in links we have both bonds of likeness and

[1] The Temple-Garden scene in 1 *Henry VI.* was no doubt written some time before Shakspere's part of 2 & 3 *Henry VI.*

contrast, as I have shown in the Introduction to *Hamlet*. These links—almost always undesignd ones—I contend are only what must naturally exist between works written by the same man nearly at the same time of his life and in the same mood. From evidence of like kind, comparing the general tone of the Four Periods of his works, I hold that Shakspere's plays, when lookt at broadly in their successive Periods, represent his own prevailing temper of mind, as man as well as artist, in the succeeding stages of his life. These tempers and moods, as they change in Shakspere's Four Periods, are but those of nature. Spedding, who objected to part of my views, yet said:—

"Along with the resemblances between the writings of the same man, there will also be differences; differences corresponding to changes in his tastes, humours, habits, fortunes, and mental conditions. In his earlier youth, farce and deep tragedy may probably divide his affections between them. As his mind expands and ripens, the broader humours of farce and the simpler horrors of tragedy lose their attraction, and give place to the richer, chaster, and more delicate humour of high comedy, and the deeper mysteries of tragic passion. As advancing years cool the blood, and decreasing activity makes the pleasures of a quiet life more attractive than those of a stirring one, it is probable that the writer's taste will incline to the calmer and more soothing kind of pathos, in which the feeling is too profound and tender for what is called comedy, and yet the final impression too peaceful for what is called tragedy. Tastes so changing would no doubt induce changes both in the choice of subjects and in the treatment of them; and looking through your list of Shakspere's plays in the order of their dates as determined upon independent grounds, the succession is much what we might (without inventing any extraordinary spiritual trials in his private life to account for the changes) have expected. Take your Four Periods, and you will find that the differences in choice and

treatment suit very naturally with the natural changes in a man's mind as he grows older; and that the whole series will divide very well into four groups. Between twenty-four and thirty, Shakspere had a young man's tastes, both in the light and the heavy line—a taste for merriment and absurdity and ingenious conceits and slang and bawdry, in the light line; and for love in the 'sighing-like furnace' and bowl-and-dagger stage in the serious. After thirty he lost his relish for these puerilities, aimed at a higher order of wit and humour in comedy, and a higher moral standard altogether; while for the true elements of human tragedy he turned to history. Five or six years of such work led him upwards into a still higher region. In comedy, though the vein was as rich as ever and as full of enjoyment, yet the pathetic element springing from the tender and serious feeling with which he had come to regard all human things became more and more predominant, and so prevailed over the other in the general effect, that his later works which end happily are hardly to be called comedies. I suppose nobody ever thought of *Measure for Measure* as a comedy, though everybody in it except Lucio is happily disposed of, and the effect of *his* sentence is rather comic than otherwise. *All's Well* is allied to tragedy rather than comedy, by the pity and serious interest with which we follow the fortunes of the heroine; and *Twelfth Night*, in spite of the number and perfection of the comic scenes, and the wonderful liveliness and rapidity and variety of incident and action, is nevertheless to me one of the most pathetic plays I know, and would draw tears far sooner than *Romeo and Juliet*. So Shakspere may be said to have taken leave of comedy proper in *The Merry Wives*, and to have grown out of it before he was forty years old. In the meantime his exercises in tragedy proper had led him into the region of the great passions which disclose the heights and depths of humanity, a region which was destined to become and remain his own. These passions,—for the benefit

of the theatre, the glory of Burbage, the amusement and instruction of the play-going public, and partly it may be for the satisfaction and relief of his own genius,—he brought, by means of such stories as he could find suitable for showing them in action, upon the stage. And to this we owe *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Lear*, and the rest; which occupied the 'unhappy Third Period.' I should like to have a period of unhappiness like that. [No doubt.] The Fourth Group follows naturally enough. He was forty-four years old; he had made money enough; he had retired from business; he had passed the period when the mind takes pleasure in violent agitations; and he employed himself upon such subjects as suited—or treated the subjects which he found so as to make them suit—the autumnal days: witness *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*.

"Classing the plays according to their general character, I find that they fall naturally into these broad divisions, and that they have a kind of correspondence with the divisions which are observable in the life of man. But if you want to separate these natural divisions into subordinate groups, according to the particular feature which distinguishes each, it seems to me that you must have as many groups as there are plays. The distinguishing feature of each would depend upon many things besides the author's state of mind. It would depend upon the story which he had to tell; and the choice of the story would depend upon the requirements of the theatre, the taste of the public, the popularity of the different actors, the strength of the company. A new part might be wanted for Burbage or Kempe. The two boys that acted Hermia and Helena [and Rosalind and Celia]—the tall and the short one,—or the two men who were so like that they might be mistaken for each other, might want new pieces to appear in;[1] and so on. The stories would be selected from such as were to be had (and had not

[1] *Cp.* Viola and Sebastian in *Twelfth Night*, and the two pairs of Antipholuses and Dromios in the *Errors*.

been used up), to suit the taste of the frequenters of the theatre; and the characters and incidents would be according to the stories."

If then the broad divisions are those of Nature, if they are *à priori* probable, and the succession of the plays in each Period can be made out—as I have shown it can be with a close approach to certainty—by a combination of all the evidence from without and within, how can we help asking ourselves what smaller groups the plays of each Period fall into? how can we help refusing to admit the evidence under our noses that, for instance, *Julius Cæsar*, *Hamlet*, and *Measure for Measure* are most closely allied by the unfitness of Brutus, Hamlet, Claudio, to bear the burden put on them, while *Othello* and *Macbeth*, tho' like the first group in the unfitness of their heroes' natures for the strain put on them, are yet more closely linkt to one another by their heroes, under the influence of their quick-working imaginations, yielding to temptations from without and from within? And so on.

Next, as to the question how far we are justified in assuming that Shakspere put his own feelings, himself, into his own plays. Some men scorn the notion, ask you triumphantly which of his characters represents him, assert that he himself is in none of them, but sits apart, serene, unruffled himself by earthly passion, making his puppets move.[1] Surely they forget that a poet *must* write what he learns from experience, that the types he portrays, the beauties he delights in, and his intellectual equipment for his task, depend always on the land and the era in which he lives. I believe, further, that all the deepest and greatest work of an artist—playwright, orator, painter, poet, &c.—is based on personal experience, on his own emotions and passions,[2] and not merely on his observations of things or feelings outside him, on

[1] They take the Fourth-Period calm of Prospero, reacht thru trial and storm, as that of Shakspere's whole life, even his "hell of time." It is a strange mistaking of this life-ful, nerve-ful man.

[2] The revived doctrine that the main object of poetry is to *please*, *amuse*, seems to me too contemptible to be discust. I don't believe the mere wish to please ever produced anything better than toys.

which his fancy and imagination work. I find that Fra Angelico, whose angel-pictures breathe calm into you as you walk up to them, and lift you into Heaven's own serene, makes you smile at his devils. I find that Wordsworth cannot paint passion, but that Michael Angelo can. I find that the natures of Carlyle and Ruskin are shown us in their works. I find that Milton's Satan has Milton's noble nature perverted—is no devil, &c.;—but that Dante can paint hell, because he's felt it. Shakspere tells me, too, he 's felt hell: and in his Othello, Macbeth, Lear, Coriolanus, Timon, I see the evidence of his having done so.[1] He tells me how he lovd his friend, as with woman's love; and in his Antonio—thrice repeated—his Helena, his Viola, I see his own devoted love reflected. He tells me what his false swarthy mistress was: and in his Cleopatra I see her, to some

[1] I look for the Shakspere of each Period—good part of him at least—to the character or opposite characters whom he has drawn with most sympathy in it: to Valentine (and Romeo) in the First Period; to Henry V. on the one hand, Antonio on the other, in the Second Period; to Hamlet on the one hand, Othello on the other, in the Third Period; to Prospero in the Fourth. I can't believe that Shakspere had much of the wily Ulysses or the calm, self-seeking (tho' repentant) Enobarbus in him, tho' they may represent, for his Third Period, the self-control that Benvolio does for his First. While he knew with Romeo what the ecstasy of love was, with Antonio what the self-sacrifice of life to friendship was, with Hamlet what will-weakness, with Othello what jealousy, with Coriolanus, with Timon, what ingratitude were; though with his nerve-ful sensitive frame, his yieldings, his falterings, his *mauvais quarts d'heure* were many, yet his healthy nature pulld him thru. And as Professor Dowden says, George Chapman's lines fitly represent him:—

> "'Give me a spirit that on life's rough sea
> Loves to have his sails filled with a lusty wind
> Even till his sail-yards tremble, his masts crack
> And his rapt ship runs on her side so low
> That she drinks water, and her keel ploughs air;
> There is no danger to the man that knows
> What life and death is; there 's not any law
> Exceeds his knowledge; neither is it lawful
> That he should stoop to any other law.'
> —*Byron's Conspiracy*, Act. III. end.

"Such a master-spirit . . . was Shakspere."

extent, embodied. Tradition tells me of the merry meetings at the 'Mermaid,' and the wit-combats there; and in the Falstaff-scenes at the 'Boar's Head,' &c., &c., I see these imaged. The early plays show me what Shakspere was at the beginning of his career—how comparatively poor in his grasp of nature, and merely sharp and witty. I see him grow in knowledge and experience of life from Period to Period, almost play to play, enriching himself with the society of gracious Elizabethan ladies and courtly men, fighting the deepest questions which puzzle the will, getting convinced of the sternness of the Moral Ruler of mankind, of the weakness of his own nature, of the suffering that sin brings;[1] I see him laying bare his own soul as he strips the covering off other men's; and I see him at last passing into at-oneness with God and man, into fresh delight in all the glories of the outward world, and the sweet girls about him, in his Stratford home. Then content to sleep. And I refuse to separate Shakspere the man from Shakspere the artist. He himself, his own nature and life, are in all his plays, to the man who has eyes, and chooses to look for him and them there.[2]

But still let those who reject this view, note that all I have said of the succession of Shakspere's Plays is independent of it. Only let them study the works of Shakspere chronologically, as they do those of Raphael, Turner, Mozart, Handel, Beethoven; and let them help to put down the idiotic helplessness and confusion on the subject that still linger on here and there in England, and which still make many men turn angrily on you when you try to get them out of 'em. Let them also insist, that Shakspere's Poems be studied with his Plays, as Chaucer's Minor Poems must be with his Tales. Neither man can be known from Plays or Tales alone.

[1] "We still have judgment here."—*Macbeth*, I. vii. p. 41.

[2] As Mrs. Browning said that her poems had "her heart and life in them," so, in my belief, would Shakspere have said the same of his plays.

CHAPTER NINE

SHAKSPERE AS REVEALD IN HIS WORKS

THE statement of my old acquaintance, Prof. Craik, in his edition of *Julius Cæsar*, 1857, still remains true, that

"After all the commentatorship and criticism of which the works of Shakspeare have been the subject, they still remain to be studied in their totality with a special reference to himself. The man Shakspeare as read in his works—Shakspeare as there revealed, not only in his genius and intellectual power, but in his character, disposition, temper, opinions, tastes, prejudices—is a book yet to be written" (pp. 8, 9).

Till some one has carefully pickt out the extra-dramatic bits from his plays, and combined them with the like bits in his poems, we cannot have his picture complete. But we know enough to get a fair notion of him. His boyhood and young manhood I have already sketcht, on pp. 15–25. The latter was that of his own ideal, as so happily pictured by my friend Miss O'Brien, in her article on "Shakspere's Young Men"[1] (and their

[1] She says on "Shakspere's own ideal of young manhood" . . . "First, as to the animal natures of these young heroes of his, it is noticeable what physical perfection they are all supposed to have. . . . His young hero should, as a general thing, 'laugh merrily' like Valentine, 'eat and drink heartily, walk manfully, and only look sad when his purse was empty.' He should be able to climb walls with Romeo, wrestle with Orlando, fence and fight pirates like Hamlet, or swim through the stormy waves like Ferdinand; and he should enjoy doing it. Shakspere seems to have revelled in the creation of these healthy, and consequently fearless, young fellows. Further, he seems to lay stress on their being natural, unaffected, as if to him affectation indicated a weakness somewhere in the man's character; . . . we have hints in the description of Parolles, with his 'scarfs and bannerets,' 'his soul in his clothes'

five classes) in *The Westminster Review* for October, 1876 His outward history is that of so many thousands of his countrymen. Born and bred in the country, he comes up to London poor, and gradually makes his fortune there, keeps an eye always to his country home, lays out his first money there, makes his father a gentleman, and then himself retires to be a country gentleman in Stratford too, leaving behind him the city, the source of his fortune, the scene of his triumphs. He, as is usual with self-made men, wants to found a family, and entails his landed property on his eldest daughter and her child, leaving the youngest daughter but £300, marriage-portion and all.

(*cp.* Cloten), which show us Shakspere's amused contempt for such creatures. . . . Shakspere seems to value very highly a decided capacity for friendship between men . . . This friendship is shown us in many forms and varying degrees of intensity. There is the deep and devoted kind; . . . there is every shade of genial sociability. . . . Clearly his model young man ought to be able to get on with other people. That he should be capable of really falling in love is almost a matter of course. It was not a matter of course, in those days or since, that the love so represented should be the pure and honest thing it is with these young heroes. Passionate, ardent, outspoken, it is always straightforward, frank, and honourable, in both the lover and the object of his love, in any character held up for our admiration. . . . Shakspere's young hero must be a gentleman too, in the best sense of that indefinable word. Our poet clearly believed that blood and birth made a good deal of difference, fully agreeing with Spenser, 'that gentle blood will gentle manners breed.' . . . But whether the polish was to be innate or acquired, at all events it must be there before the young man's character would be agreeable to Shakspere. It is not enough that the young hero should be daring and gallant, generous and true, he must also have something of cultivation and grace as well. . . . One point, however, should not be overlooked in connection with these young men. With all their sociability, their friendship and hospitality, it is remarkable how little allusion there is to anything of a rollicking, drinking style of conviviality. . . . Healthy, brave, natural, genial, constant in friendship, noble in love, well-bred, cultivated, and self-restrained; such are the main points which we can discover of Shakspere's ideal young man. We would not say that there might not be something higher, that we might not wish for some example of real heroism and self-sacrifice; but the world is not made up of heroes, and Shakspere did not seem to feel called upon to draw the exceptional people."

As to his likes and dislikes, he disliked women's sham hair and face-painting,[1] men's absurd dresses and frequent changes of fashion,[2] and their excessive word-play and quips;[3] he also disliked jealous wives,[4] scented effeminate men (Hotspur's courtier, and Osric, &c.), Puritans,[5] courtiers' pretensions,[6] pompous justices,[7] presumptuous officials,[8] and affectations of all kinds; the fickle multitude,[9] child actors, clowns saying more than was set down for them, ranting actors[10] and dramatists;[11] and, actor and playwright tho' he was, liking the applause with which the well-graced actor left the stage (*Richard II.*, V. ii.), he still felt that his business lowerd his moral nature, and left its stain on him (Sonnet CXI.). No wonder, if the general run of writers and actors was like Marlowe, Peele, and Greene. Shakspere used the poor rather as material for fun, to amuse his richer patrons with, than as folk with whom he felt. He doesn't show much sympathy with them,—not so much as Chaucer, I think,—but his representations of them are all in good part, and, like those of Chaucer and Dickens, make his hearers think kindly of the men they laugh at. He, like the other Elizabethan dramatists, doesn't, in his play, show much home feeling. He and they have hardly any of the modern feeling as to the English *home*.[12] 'T was hardly

[1] *See* Introduction to *Love's Labour's Lost*, p. 12, Note 1.

[2] Portia, in *The Merchant*. See Introduction to that play, pp. 17, 18.

[3] *See* above, p. 70.

[4] Adriana and the Abbess, in the *Errors*, II., i.; V. i.

[5] *Twelfth Night*.

[6] *Lear*, V. iii. p. 168; *Much Ado*.

[7] *Merry Wives*; 2 *Henry IV*.

[8] *Hamlet*, III. i.; *Measure for Measure*, II. ii.

[9] 1 *Henry IV.*, end; 2 *Henry IV.*, Induction; *Julius Cæsar*; *Coriolanus*.

[10] *Hamlet*, III. ii.; *Troilus and Cressida*; *Coriolanus*.

[11] Quotations from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and Kyd, in 2 *Henry IV.* II. iv.

[12] Mr. Spencer. Miss O'Brien also notes the little there is in

possible then: Paul's Walks, the theatres, the taverns, were the leading features of the London life of Elizabeth's and James's time; and tho' hints of happy home-life are given here and there in Shakspere—"sat at good men's feasts" (*As You Like It*, II. vii.), and, oddly enough, in the Roman plays—just as in Sir Thomas More's household, in Philip Stubbes's *Life* of his sweet young wife, who read the Bible so hard and was always asking him to explain texts,—yet it was not till the Puritan time that we get the Lucy Hutchinson, the Lady Russell, the foundation of the English home, to which the cavalier spirit, when purified, was to add lightness and grace. The hardness of early English home-life is seen in the *Paston Letters*, in the *Italian Relation of England*, in Lady Jane Grey's bringing up, &c. (See the Forewords to my *Babees' Book*, &c.) In connexion with this want of home-life, there seems to me in Shakspere some want of sympathy with child-nature.[1] Admirable as his sketches of children's characters are, it is rather their parents' feelings for them, than the children themselves, that he seems to care for.

Shakspere was, too, like most Tudor Englishmen, too fond of kings and queens. But in his time they were mistaken for their country. (The modern Comtist, also, judging Shakspere as a Victorian, not an Elizabethan, finds that he had no high purpose in his life, set up no high ideal in his plays; that he ridiculed the poor to please the rich, &c., &c. These objections seem to me out of time and place.) Shakspere's love for the country is one of his most striking characteristics; he glories in its might and its prowess: his knowledge of, and delight in, its flowers and plants, its birds and beasts, horses and dogs, its clouds and sunshine, its pastoral life and fairy

Shakspere of mother and daughter (*cf.* Juliet and her mother, Hermione and Perdita), as if he was not sure of the ways of women together.

[1] He liked their boldness and pluck. *Cp.* Edward IV.'s and Coriolanus's boys.

lore, its sports, its men and maidens, he puts into all his plays.

A thorough landsman, he never speaks of the sea with pleasure.[1] Loving Nature even more than Chaucer, he is no student, no book-reader, in the sense that Chaucer was, that even Ben Jonson was. No reflections of other men's work shine thru his every second line, as in much of Chaucer. He studies men and women, as he does Nature, at first-hand, not second, and reads mainly, I expect, for material for his work, in the intervals of his busy active life. Baptista Mantuanus, Ovid, Plautus, of the classics—perchance all in translations—certainly *Plutarch's Lives* in North's englisht version from Amyot's French one; Chaucer, George Gascoigne, Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Lyly's *Euphues*,[2] Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, and other collections of Novels, Greene's Prose Tales, *Montaigne's Essays*, are the main books we trace in his works. The English Bible he seems to have known well (*see* Bp. Chas. Wordsworth's book on this).[3] Of all the arts he lovd Music next to Poetry—what lovely tender passages he has written on it![4]—then painting; then statuary. Full-blooded, impulsive he must have been,[5] and full of life. He liked his cakes[6] and ale, and took enjoyingly the pleasures sensuous and sexual[7] that the

[1] From my friend Joseph Knight. As also Shakspere twice makes the sailor's half-hour glass a landsman's hour (*All's Well*, II. i. p. 59; *Tempest*, V. i. p. 119), we may be sure that he was never at sea for any time.—B. Nicholson, *New Shaks. Soc. Trans.*, 1881, pp. 42-3.

[2] *See* Mr. Rushton's book on this, and Note, p. 270, below. His borrowings he took "by sovereignty of nature."—*Coriol.*, IV. vii. p. 173.

[3] *See*, too, my Forewords to *Shakspere and Holy Writ*, 1881, and Note below, pp. 270-1.

[4] *Merchant of Venice*, V. i.; *Twelfth Night*, I. i., II. iv., &c.; *Julius Cæsar*, I. ii., &c., &c.

[5] This was a note of the time. *Cp.* Sir P. Sidney's threat to drive his dagger into his father's secretary, if the latter read his letters.

[6] The saffrond cakes with raisins in, that were eaten with the ale in Elizabeth's time to make the ale taste better. *See* my *Harrison*, p. lxxi.

[7] "13 March, 1601. Vpon a tyme when Burbidge played Richard 3 there was a citizen gaene soe farr in liking with him, that before shee went from the play shee appointed him to come that night vnto

fates provided. (It is absurd to try and make him out, in this regard, a Milton or a Wordsworth. The unneeded double-ententes, the broad jokes, in his early plays, his *Venus*, &c., show that he had the allowable enjoyment of his time in an amusing splash of dirt. But it is all wholesome coarseness; and he has far less of it than his dramatic contemporaries have.)

But with this full-blooded, strong, intense nature, with an overflowing store of humour, geniality and wit, Shakspere combined the utmost sensitiveness, the tenderest, humblest, devoted, womanlike love for his friend. What can be more beautiful—weak tho' it may seem to some—than his affection for his Will of the *Sonnets*? These are the poems that explain to us his contemporaries' name for him, "gentle Shakspere," "gentle Will"; these, the work that show us whence sprang his strong hold on the rough, blustering Ben Jonson, and drew from Ben those expressions of affection which—notwithstanding their "buts"[1]—are his own truest title to a place in our

hir by the name of Richard the Third. Shakespeare, ouerhearing their conclusion, went before, was intertained, and at his game ere Burbedge came. Then message being brought that Richard the Third was at the dore, Shakespeare caused returne to be made that William the Conquerour was before Richard the Third. Shakespere's name William (*Mr. Curle?*)."—(Manningham's *Diary*, Harley MS. 5353, fol. 29, *bk.*; Camden Society.) See too the 2nd Group of Sonnets, Introduction to *Sonnets*, and Introduction to *Merry Wives*, p. 9, note 2. The Mrs. Davenant story is in Aubrey's MSS., in the Ashmole Collection, in the Bodleian, and in Oldys's MS. Collections for a Life of Shakspere. *See Dyce*, 2nd ed., i. 123, note 7.

[1] "*De Shakspeare nostrat.—Augustus in Hat(erium)*.—I remember, the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakspeare, that in his writing (whatsoever he pennèd) he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, 'Would he had blotted a thousand!' Which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance, who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by, wherein he most faulted; and to justify mine own candour: for I loved the man, and do honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any. He was (indeed) honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions; wherein he flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped: *Sufflaminandus erat*, as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power; would the rule of

hearts: "I loved the man, and do honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any. He was indeed honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions" (*Discoveries*, p. 747, col. 1): and—

> "Triumph, my Britain! thou hast one to show,
> To whom all scenes of Europe, homage owe.
> He was not for an age, but for all time!
> And all the Muses still were in their prime,
> When, like Apollo, he came forth to warm
> Our ears, or like a Mercury to charm!
> Nature herself was proud of his designs,
> And joyed to wear the dressing of his lines! . . .
> Yet must I not give Nature all; thy art,
> My gentle Shakspeare, must enjoy a part.
> For though the poet's matter, nature be,
> His art doth give the fashion . . . .
> . . . . . Look, how the father's face
> Lives in his issue, even so the race
> Of Shakspeare's mind and manners brightly shines
> In his well turnèd and true filèd lines. . . .
> Sweet Swan of Avon! what a sight it were
> To see thee in our water yet appear,
> And make those flights upon the banks of Thames,
> That so did take Eliza and our James!
> But stay! I see thee in the hemisphere
> Advanc'd, and made a constellation there!
> Shine forth, thou *Star of poets*, and with rage,
> Or influence, chide or cheer the drooping stage,
> Which, since thy flight from hence, hath mourn'd like night,
> And despairs day, but for thy volumes light."

(From Ben Jonson's poem in the Folio of 1623, "To the Memory of my beloved Master, William Shakspeare,

it had been so too! Many times he fell into those things, could not escape laughter: as when he said in the person of Cæsar, one speaking to him, 'Cæsar, thou dost me wrong.' He replied, 'Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause,' and such like; which were ridiculous. But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned." (*Discoveries;* in *Works*, ed. 1838, p. 747, col. 1.) On the detractor's *but*, Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* says, under "Envy:" "And this synne / of bakbitynge or de*trac*cion / hath *cer*teine speces / as thus ¶ Som man preiseth his neighebore by a wikke entente /. [494] for he maketh alwey a wikked knotte atte laste ende /. alwey / he maketh a BUT atte laste ende / that is digne of moore blame / than worth is al the preisynge."

and what he hath left us."—Ben Jonson's *Works*, p. 693, col. 1.)

Fuller says of Shakspere: "Many were the wit combats betwixt him and Ben Jonson, which two I beheld like a Spanish great gallion and an English man-of-war. Master Jonson (like the former) was built far higher in learning, solid but slow in his performances; Shakespeare, with the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention" (*Worthies*, p. 126, sign. A.a.a., ed. fol. in *Dyce*, p. 70). Aubrey had heard that Shakspere "was a handsome, well-shap't man," "very good company, and of a very readie and pleasant smooth witt." His kindly reference to his dead rival Marlowe in *As You Like It*, I have notist in the Introduction to that play, and Chettle's testimony to his early worth, pp. 93-4 and 177. And who can read his plays without feeling that in all that 's frank, and generous, and beautiful, all that's noble, and to be reverenced and lovd in their characters and them, there is a part of Shakspere himself? Grant that in his bad characters there is somewhat of him too, that he had yielded to temptation, passion, felt possibilities of crime; but yet how greatly the good outweighs the ill! how surely we feel that the ideals Shakspere created he strove to reach, and that all that was true and right came to him as to its home! In religion, he was no doubt an orthodox Christian of his day.

As a dramatist, a poet, Shakspere, like Chaucer, started late, and ripend late, tho' earlier than the older master. Chaucer's first poem, the *Pity*,[1] must have been written when he was nearly twenty-eight, his *Prologue* when he was forty-eight. Shakspere's first poem, his *Venus and Adonis*, the first heir of his invention, when he was twenty-nine; his first play, *Love's*

[1] The *Pity* is sometimes considerd as composed subsequent to the *Dethe of the Duchesse*; in any case, it is one of the earliest of Chaucer's compositions.—M.

Labour's Lost, when he was twenty-four or twenty-five; his *Othello* when he was forty. Chaucer began in sadness, and workt through it into the sunshine and humour of his merry Tales, but past at last into complaints against Fortune, poverty and ill hap, due to his bad luck in the world. Shakspere started with fun and farce, and passing through his early tragedy and histories to his brilliant sunny comedies, plunged into the gloom and terrors of the tragedies of his Third Period, but emerged, to end in sunshine and in peace.

What strikes me most in Shakspere is his magnificent power and ease. True poet as Chaucer is, and much as I love him (my work for him shows it); true poet as Marlowe is,—let Miss Lee speak his praise,[1]—it seems to me that Shakspere can take them both up in his right hand, and all the other English poets in his left, and walk off with them without feeling their weight. This strength, this ease of doing all he wants, and having power in reserve; this ability to swing you right away on whatever tide of passion, pity, terror, joy, humour, wit, he chooses to raise, I find in no one else in like degree. When I asked Browning what struck him

[1] "To what a pitch of greatness Marlowe's genius might have reached had he lived to attain perfect manhood, I cannot tell. All I know is, that when he died at the age of thirty years he was the greatest dramatic poet whom England had yet seen (a greater poet, I dare to say, than Shakspere was at the same date); and that in power of imagery, in majesty of thought, in depth of passionate feeling, he excelled all who had written before him, and all (even Shakspere) who wrote during his lifetime. His short life and brief period of greatness remind me of the story told of the stranger athlete who—when the men of Greece were assembled to view the game of quoits, and were watching with delight and admiration the feats of strength achieved by their youth—strode down from the mountains, and taking the quoit, flung it without effort further than it had ever yet been thrown by any man; and then, while old and young gazed on him with wonder and with envy, turned and left them and was seen no more."—*New Shaks. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-6, p. 239.

This so pleasant enthusiastic praise hides all Marlowe's faults, his rant and tawdriness, his strain, and want of naturalness, characterisation, humour, &c. But he was no doubt Shakspere's teacher in tragedy and blank verse.

most in Shakspere, he said: "The royal ease with which he walks up the steps and takes his seat on his throne, while we poor fellows have to struggle hard to get up a step or two."

Then comes Shakspere's characterisation, proceeding from that quick eye that saw the eagle's shaking wings, &c., in the *Venus*, from that sensibility which was affected by every object in Nature, every emotion in Man, like a photographer's plate is by every ray of light; that sympathy that enabled Shakspere to feel with, and for, every change in the physical world, every mood in the spiritual; that intensity with which he could throw his whole strong, tender self into his characters; that insight, that imagination penetrative, which showd him what was at the heart of every man and thing with which he dealt; that power of realisation which enabled him to embody his conceptions, his studies from life, as themselves really living beings.

Then comes the wonderful variety, the many-sidedness of the man. With all natures he is kin. From Caliban to Titania, Miranda; from Bottom to Theseus, Prospero; from Parolles to Hotspur, Henry V.; Doll Tearsheet to Isabella; Mrs. Quickly to Volumnia, he ranges with equal power at will. True that he knows men, but adores women,—his reverence for women (even if mainly ideal only) is to me the most beautiful trait in his character,—true that he always analyses and lays bare the weaknesses and sins of the one sex, while of the other, only Cleopatra and Cressid does he dissect,[1] as Chaucer does the wife of Bath, when he displays her; the rest of his heroines he lifts into angels, yet keeps them all sweet, loving women still.[2] Yet how fair he is to his characters! Iago and Edmund are his only pure villains; and for both we are shown excuses in the causes for their crimes. The nearest man to them, Richard III., has his excuse, too, in his birth; and he

[1] We may add Mrs. Quickly, perhaps, of non-heroines. Whom else?

[2] Lady Macbeth, Goneril, Regan, he has unsext.

loves his father, and suffers in his restless bed and his conscience-stricken awakening. With Shylock, Macbeth, our hearts feel.

Then comes the love of Nature in all Shakspere's work,—but of this I have spoken above, pp. 163-4; not Wordsworth himself was fuller of it: it was in every fibre of his being, born with him in his fair lands of Stratford.

Then "the presence of a spirit of active and enquiring thought through every page of his writings is too evident to require any proof. . . . He has impressed no other of his own mental qualities on all his characters: this quality colours every one of them" (Spalding's *Letter*, p. 20).

Then the deep wisdom and reflective power, specially in the Third and Fourth Period plays, so often shown in short pregnant sentences that weigh and glisten like gold. Then the rich and lovely fancy of the early poems and plays, carried on, tho' subdued and chastend, to the last. Then the delightful humour and fun; Shakspere's evident enjoyment of it; the boy's heart in him to the end, as Autolycus shows. Then his brilliant wit, his aptness of epithet, and mastery of language. Then the manliness and healthiness of his work—notwithstanding its occasional coarseness of his time—his sound judgment and strong common-sense. His knowledge of human nature. His conviction that breakers of law, natural and moral, must and do suffer for their sins. His interweaving of fancy and farce, pathos and comedy, of tragedy and humour. But where shall I stop? Who shall number all Shakspere's attributes? All lovers of him know dozens more than I have mentiond in this poor summary; and all of them are but the agents of that imagination which made him the greatest poet of the world. (Note his special originality in comedy. Hardly any of his chief folk in it are from other men's sketches.)

In the construction of his dramas, Shakspere's weakness seems to me to spring from his strength.

That was characterisation. Give him a story that afforded him scope for development of character, and he didn't care much for a plot; he didn't attend enough to the maxim that a play must act itself. See on what loose threads of dramatic continuity plays like the *Dream*, *King John*, *Henry V.*, *Cymbeline*, *Winter's Tale*, &c., are strung. As Professor Spalding has pointed out in his able "Letter," pp. 62, 66, Shakspere belongd to the old school of dramatists as regards plots; any old well-known story would suit him, for he knew he could make the dry bones live; but the hold of his works on the stage as acting plays has loosend from their want of better plots. It is odd too in how many of his plays the climax is reacht before the fifth Act:[1] this is due to his impetuousness; and to the same cause is owing his frequent inconsistency in details: see Introduction to *Hamlet*, p. 14, note 1.

To the Leading-Idea-of-each-Play notion, so strongly insisted on by many German critics and their English followers, I do not take, in the sense that Shakspere entertaind it consciously before he wrote a play. He never sat down to write a play as a parson writes a

[1] The real climax is generally in the third Act, as in *Othello*, *Julius Cæsar*, &c.; a weak fourth Act often follows; then a stronger fifth. In *Macbeth* the true climax is the murder scene in Act II. In *Richard III.*, the first Act, with its wooing of Lady Anne, pales everything that follows. (Irving grasped the character of Richard admirably.) It is clear to me too that Shakspere, in writing his plays, followd his own impulses as to their length, and not the mere players' requirements. The times given for plays by his contemporaries are two, two-and-a-half, and three hours. Allowing 800 lines for an hour, none of Shakspere's important plays but *Macbeth* (2,108 lines), *The Tempest* (2,064), *Dream* (2,174), and *Julius Cæsar* (2,478), can have been acted without large cuts, which in *Hamlet* (3,931 lines) and *Richard the Third* (3,619) must have slasht off a third of the play. James Wright, in his *Hist. Histrionica*, 1699, p. 4 (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xv. 400), says:—"Shakspere, as I have heard, was a much better Poet than Player." Tradition says that Shakspere acted the Ghost in *Hamlet*, Adam in *As You Like It*, Knowell in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*. (*Hamlet*, Quarto 1, 2,143 lines. took two-and-a half hours to act on April 16, 1881.)

sermon, on the evils of avarice;[1] nor did he, in my belief, according to the doctrine of some critics, sit still till old James Burbage or his son Richard or Cuthbert came to him and said, "Now, Shakspere, we want a tragedy this day fortnight: something stirring, you know. Suppose you take Hamlet, in which the hero's always doing nothing and making excuses for it —splendid subject for a drama, for *action*, that!—You cook it up, and mind you bring it home to time,"—altho', doubtless, he had to do some work in a hurry, the *Merry Wives*, perhaps. I believe, on the one hand, that Shakspere soon became king and teacher of his company—his own fellows *must* have known the difference between him and other men, and lookt up to him with pride,—and that he produced them comedy when he liked it, and tragedy when he liked it, without asking them for orders. On the other hand, I conceive that Shakspere, according to the mood he was in, either heard a fresh story, or recollected an old one, which suited his mood, and gave him a chance for developing character; then he threw himself into the circumstances and people of the story, made such changes in them as he thought fit, in accordance with his idea of his plot and each of his characters, and then developt the whole. If one character dominated the whole play, as in *Othello*, &c., then the play had a leading idea; if one character didn't dominate it, as in *The Merchant*, then the play hadn't any leading idea, except the one leading every play, that of exhibiting human emotion and character. Shakspere cared for life, and didn't bother himself about subject, object, idea, teleology, &c.

Altogether "a manly man" (as Chaucer says) this Shakspere, strong, tender, humourful, sensitive, impressionable, the truest friend, the foe of none but narrow minds and base. And as we track his work

[1] The only plays I recognise as incidental-purpose ones are *Richard II.* and *John*. The only direct-purpose ones are *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Julius Cæsar*.

from the lightness and fun of its rise, thru the fairy fancy, the youthful passion, the rich imaginings, the ardent patriotism, the brilliant sunshine, of his first and second times, through the tender affection of his Sonnets, the whirlwind of passions in his Tragedies, and then to the lovely sunset of his latest plays, what can we do but bless his name, and be thankful that he came to be a delight, a lift and strength, to us and our children's children to all time—a bond that shall last for ever between all English-speaking, English-reading men, the members of that great Teutonic brotherhood which shall yet long lead the world in the fight for freedom and for truth?

CHAPTER TEN

Continuation of Shakspere's Biography

We have now gone through the series of Shakspere's works, have seen him begin with those that suited youth, skits on the Londoners' fashions and follies, showing his Stratford clowns on the London stage, dealing with love and its vagaries, starting into fancy, incorporating all his country lore in Puck and his companions, first stepping on to the ground of Italian story in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, then bursting into a fervour of passion in *Romeo and Juliet*, and his early poems; passing thence to history, to speak his mind to his countrymen on the disputes that rent England asunder in his time. Then again, falling back with renewd power on Italian story, and first taking his due lead before all other men in *The Merchant of Venice*, then sinking almost his history in the humourful comedies of Falstaff and the brilliant plays of the Second Period that succeeded them; then, troubled in heart himself, as we see in his *Sonnets*, disappointed in his affection for his friend who was his all, cast off by his dark mistress, passing the "hell of time" of which he speaks to his friend when they were reconciled again, and during this time, no doubt, giving to the world those tragedies in which he laid the burden of life on souls too weak to bear it, in which he let noble men be drawn to their ruin by temptations from without, by suggestions from within, in which he showd ingratitude eating the hearts of father and of child, in which he let lust lead its noble victims to their death, in which he showd all old-world glory and honour but a sham, in which at last he made Timon curse all mankind; and then we saw him, no longer wielding the scourge of

vengeance, but acting as the minister of reconciliation, passing from his time of terror to one of peace, and in Prospero, Posthumus, Imogen, Hermione, perhaps Queen Katharine (if *Henry VIII.* was by him at all), forgiving injuries for which of old he would have exacted death. And in this temper we find him, after leaving the scenes of his trials and triumphs in London, enjoying as a boy again the sweet sights and sounds of his native home.

How came Shakspere into London? As a stranger to be honourd, welcomd, and kist by "girls with angels' faces"?[1] Or poor and despised, to pick up his first pence by holding men's horses at the theatre-doors, as one tradition says he did?[2] The playhouse with

[1] Erasmus: he also says, "Besides, there is a custom here never to be sufficiently commended. Wherever you come you are receivd with a kiss by all; when you take your leave, you are dismisst with kisses; you return, kisses are repeated. They come to visit you, kisses again; they leave you, you kiss them all round. Should they meet you anywhere, kisses in abundance; in fine, wherever you move, there is nothing but kisses.'—*Harrison*, p. lxi.; and *see* p. lxii.

[2] The authority for it is the poet Pope; he heard it from Rowe, who was told by Betterton the actor, and he by Sir William Davenant the actor, who is reported to have said he was Shakspere's bastard by Mrs. Davenant, the Oxford-inn landlady. The story is told in Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, 1753, vol. i. p. 130, and in Johnson's Prolegomena to *Shakespeare*, 1765. The latter says: "When Shakespear fled to London from the terror of a criminal prosecution, his first expedient was to wait at the door of the playhouse, and hold the horses of those who had no servants, that they might be ready again after the performance. In this office he became so conspicuous for his care and readiness, that in a short time every man as he alighted called for *Will. Shakespear*, and scarcely any other waiter was trusted with a horse while *Will. Shakespear* could be had. This was the first dawn of better fortune. Shakespear, finding more horses put into his hand than he could hold, hired boys to wait under his inspection, who, when *Will. Shakespear* was summoned, were immediately to present themselves, *I am Shakespear's boy, sir.* In time, Shakespear found higher employment: but as long as the practice of riding to the playhouse continued, the waiters that held the horses retained the appellation of *Shakespear's boys.*" I am willing to accept the tradition, for it harmonises with Greene's *Johannes fac totum.* I believe in life and go as the essence of young

which tradition connects him was called "The Theatre," and was built by a player and joiner, James Burbage, in 1577, in the fields outside the City Walls,[1] on the west of Bishopsgate Street, near the site of the present Standard Theatre in Shoreditch. In 1598 it was pulld down, and in 1599 rebuilt as "The Globe," on Bankside, Southwark.[2] Whether employd at "The Theatre," or "The Curtaine" close by (first noticed in 1577), or any of the "other suche lyke places besides," of which Northbrooke speaks in 1577-8, or "the theaters" of which Harrison said in 1573, "It is an euident token of a wicked time when plaiers were so riche that they can build suche houses," it is clear from Robert Greene's posthumous *Groatsworth of Wit* in 1592[3] that Shakspere

Shakspere. He'd have wiped boots with a shoe-clout, cleand a horse, commanded the Channel-fleet, the army, or the nation, or written a sermon for any Romanist or Puritan, to say nothing of poems and plays for young nobles and the stage. Another tradition is given in a letter, dated 1693, from a man named Dowdall to Mr. Edward Southwell, which says that the parish clerk of Stratford, who showd Dowdall the church, and was above eighty years old, told him that Shakspere was bound apprentice to a butcher, and ran from his master to London, where he was taken into the theatre as a servitor. But the apprentice part of this tradition is inconsistent with Shakspere's fatherhood of three children at twenty-one years old.

[1] Builders of theatres put them outside the walls to prevent their being shut by order of the City authorities or Proclamation, whenever there came a panic about infection or plague, harm to morality, &c.

[2] A hundred yards or so south-west of the Surrey foot of London Bridge. The site of the Globe Theatre, Globe Alley, &c., have long been part of Barclay's brewery there. See my *Harrison*, Pt. II. p. xvii. Playhouse Yard is by *The Times* printing-office in Blackfriars, where Burbage's Blackfriars Theatre once was. These theatres were put down in 1647.

[3] "Base minded men al three of you [Marlowe, Nash, Peele], if by my miserie ye bee not warned: for vnto none of you (like me) sought those burres to cleaue; those Puppits (I meane) that speake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whome they al haue been beholding: is it not like that you, to whome they al have been beholding, shall (were ye in that case that I am now) be both at once of them forsaken? Yes, trust them not; for there is an upstart crow, beautified with our

was then known, and well known, as both actor and author, though we have no direct evidence of his being a member of Burbage's, or the Lord Chamberlain's, company till Christmas, 1593. In the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, containing this evidence, Shakspere's name occurs after that of Kempe the comedian, and before that of Richard Burbage the great tragedian.[1] The *Groatsworth of Wit* has nothing very gentle to say of Shakspere. What Shakspere had written by 1592 to move the wrath of the dying and deserted Greene we have discust in Chapter IV. above, where we commenst our account of the poet's life-work.

And having once enterd on the subject of the succession of Shakspere's plays, and the means by which it was made out, we could not well leave it till we'd workt it thru. It took us from 1592 to 1613, and gave us Shakspere's mental and spiritual life during that time. Now we've to put together the few facts of his and his family's outward life that still survive to us.

I have divided Shakspere's life—like his plays—into four Periods: (1) from his birth, in 1564, to his leaving Stratford for London in, perhaps, 1587, the Home-Period;

feathers, that with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a players hide* supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you; and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum*, is in his owne conceit the only Shake-scene in a countrie."—*Allusion-Books*, New Shak. Soc., p. 20. We must not suppose that Greene's bitter words fairly represent Shakspere's character. Henry Chettle, who put forth the *Groatsworth* after Greene's death, says, evidently of Shakspere, in his own *Kindharts Dreame* (p. 38, lines 13-17, New Shak. Soc.'s *Allusion-Books*, 1874):—"My selfe haue seene his demeanor no lesse ciuill than he exelent in the qualitie he professes: Besides, diuers of worship haue reported his vprightnes of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing, that aprooues his Art."

[1] "To William Kempe, William Shakespeare and Richarde Burbage, seruaun*tes* to the Lord Chamber*leyne*, vpon the councell*es* warr*ant*, dated at Whitehall xv^to^ Marcij 1594, for twoe seuerall Comedies or Enterludes shewed by them before her ma*jes*tie in *Christ*mas tyme laste paste, viz.: St. Stephens daye and Innocentes daye, xiij^li^, vj^s^, viij^d^, and by waye of her ma*jesties* Rewarde vj^li^, xiij^s^, iiij^d^, in all xx^li^."—Halliwell's *Illustrations*, p. 31.

(2) from 1587 to 1599, when he was taken as partner in the profits of the Globe, the Period of Struggle to Success (*a.* 1587 to 1592, unrecorded, *b.* 1592 to 1599, recorded); (3) from 1599 to 1609, or whenever else he left London, the Period of Triumph or Assured-Success; (4) from his return to Stratford, 1609 (?), to his death, 1616, the Period of Renewd Family Life, or Peace.

2 *a.* The Plays I suppose to have been written by 1592 are *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Romeo and Juliet*, a few passages, perhaps, in *Titus Andronicus*, and the Temple Garden Scene in 1 *Henry VI.* These are the only records of his life during the first part of his Period of Struggle. Now for the second part.

2 *b.* In 1593 began, no doubt, Shakspere's visit to his publisher, Richard Field,[1] in St. Paul's Churchyard,[2] when *Venus and Adonis* was enterd in the *Stationers' Registers* and publisht. It was the acting of *Romeo and Juliet*, and the issue of the *Venus* and *Lucrece*, that first brought Shakspere fame; and a tradition, reported by Rowe as coming from Sir William Davenant, states that

[1] He was a fellow-townsman of Shakspere's who married the daughter of Vautrollier the printer; and the goods and chattels of his father, Henry Field, tanner, of Stratford, were valued by Shakspere's father, John Shakspere, in 1592. (*Old Shakespeare Society's Papers*, iv. 36.)

[2] St. Paul's Churchyard before the Fire was chiefly inhabited by booksellers, and several of the early editions of Shakspere's poems and plays were published here. *Venus and Adonis*, 1593, was to be sold at the White Greyhound, where also J. Harrison publisht *The Rape of Lucrece*, 1594. The first edition of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* appeard at the Flower de Luce and Crown, kept by A. Johnson; the first edition of *The Merchant of Venice* at the Green Dragon, by T. Heyes; the first editions of *Richard II.*, *Richard III.*, and *First Part of Henry IV.* at the Angel, by A. Wise; the first edition of *Troilus and Cressida* at the Spread Eagle over against the great north door of Paul's, by R. Bonian and H. Whalley; the first edition of *Lear* at the Pied Bull, by N. Butter; and the first known [now the second] edition of *Titus Andronicus* at the Gun, near the little north door of Paul's, by E. White. M. Law published several of the Quartos at the Fox.—H. B. Wheatley, in my *Harrison*, p. ov., from Peter Cunningham's *London*.

Lord Southampton, to whom these two poems were dedicated, "at one time gave him [Shakspere] a thousand pounds to go through with a purchase which he heard he had a mind to." But though the gift is likely enough, its amount has no doubt been exaggerated, seeing what £1,000 meant then.[1] On the night of December 28, 1594—one of a week's entertainments at Gray's Inn—Shakspere and Bacon were no doubt present in Gray's Inn Hall together at the performance of the former's *Errors:* "After such sports, a *Comedy of Errors* (like to Plautus his Menechmus) was played by the players: so that night was begun, and continued to the end, in nothing but confusion and errors; whereupon it was ever afterwards called *The Night of Errors.*" (*Gesta Grayorum*, p. 22, ed. 1688 [in Dyce]; Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, iii. 262; Spedding's *Letters and Life of Bacon*, i. 326.)[2] "From a paper now before me, which formerly belonged to Edward Alleyn the player, our poet appears to have lived in Southwark; near the Bear-Garden, in 1596," says Malone in his *Inquiry into the Authenticity of Certain Papers, &c.*, p. 215. This paper having disappeard, one of the modern Shakspere forgers, Mr. J. P. Collier, provided another of like kind in its place, among the Dulwich College papers, and printed it; but its sham was soon detected.

On August 11, 1596, as I have notist in the Introduction to *King John*, p. 13, Shakspere's only son,

[1] In 1593 I suppose *Richard II.* to have been written; and in 1592-4, the revising of *The Contention* and *True Tragedie* into 2 & 3 *Henry VI.* with *Richard III.* In 1594 were publisht *Lucrece*, a second edition of *Venus and Adonis*, and the first of *The Contention*, on which 2 *Henry VI.* was based, and the first of *The Taming of a Shrew*, the groundwork of *The Taming of the Shrew*. *Willobie his Avisa*, 1594, notices Shakspere's *Lucrece*, and Sir Wm. Harbert and Drayton evidently allude to it, as Robert Southwell does to his *Venus*. (I shall not note all the allusions here. For them, see the chapters above and the new edition of the *Shakspere Allusion-Book*, by John Munro.)

[2] In 1595 was publisht *The True Tragedie*, which was alterd into 3 *Henry VI.*; and in 1596, the third edition of *Venus and Adonis*. I believe that *King John* was written in 1595, *The Merchant* in 1596: that *The Shrew* was revised in 1596-7, and 1 *Henry IV.* written.

Hamnet (baptised February 2, 1585), died, and was buried at Stratford:—"1596, August 11th. Hamnet, filius William Shakspere" (Neil). That his son's death must have been a great blow to Shakspere, as well as a father as a man wishing to found a family, we cannot doubt. That he had the ambition of being recognised as a gentleman in his own town and county is clear. He was like Walter Scott and so many other Britishers in this, following the hereditary instinct, poor tho' it is, of his Anglo-Saxon forefathers, that what constitutes a free man is the possession of land: landed, free; landless, thrall. And tho' his father on January 26, 1596, had by a deed, in which he is described as John Shakspere, *yeoman*, sold part of the ground belonging to his Henley Street (or birthplace) property to George Badger for £2,[1] we find in the Herald's College, a draft grant of arms to this John Shakspere, as a *gentleman*, dated the 20th October, 1596, which, notwithstanding the doubt formerly thrown on it, *The Herald and Genealogist*, Part VI., pp. 503-5 (cited by Dyce, *Shakspere*, 1866, p. 21), inclines to think was executed. We know that then, as now, men rising or having risen in the world could, and did, buy arms for themselves, with, often forged, pedigrees attacht to them. Harrison says in 1577-87, pp. 128-9 of my edition:—"Gentlemen whose ancestors are not

[1] "In 1591-2," says Munro, "the name of a John Shakspere was forwarded by Sir Thomas Lucy as that of a recusant to the Privy Council. The second certificate of those presented was set down at Warwick, and signd by Sir Thomas, Sept. 25, 1592. This John Shakspere has always been identified with the poet's father. Mrs. Stopes disagrees with this, firstly, because Mrs. Shakspere's name is not associated with her husband's, as is the case with other recusants; and, secondly, because the fortunes of the Shaksperes turnd about this time towards renewd prosperity. The other John Shakspere of Stratford, Master of the Shoemakers' Company, was then a *widower*; he was then in trouble, and he disappeard from Stratford in 1584, shortly after the recusant list was sent in. It seems, therefore, highly probable that John Shakspere, the recusant and defaulter, was the shoemaker, and not the poet's father."—Mrs. Stopes's *Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries*, 1907, pp. 31-2.

knowen to come in with William duke of Normandie (for of the Saxon races yet remaining we now make none accompt, much lesse of the British issue) doo take their beginning in England, after this maner in our times. Who soeuer studieth the lawes of the realme, who so abideth in the vniuersitie giving his mind to his booke, or professeth physicke and the liberall sciences, or beside his seruice in the roome of a capteine in the warres, or good counsell giuen at home, whereby his common-wealth is benefited, can live without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will bear the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he shall, *for monie*, haue a cote and arms bestowed vpon him by heralds (who in the charter of the same doo of custome *pretend antiquitie, and seruice, and manie gaie things*)[1] and therevnto, being made so good cheape, be called 'master,' which is the title that men giue to esquiers and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman euer after. Which is so much the lesse to be disalowed of, for that the prince dooth loose nothing by it, the gentleman being so much subiect to taxes and publike paiments as is the yeoman or husbandman, which he likewise dooth beare the gladlier for the sauing of his reputation. Being called also to the warres, (for with the gouernment of the common-wealth he medleth litle,) what soeuer it cost him, he will both arraie & arme himselfe accordinglie, and shew the more manly courage, and all the tokens of the person which he

[1] The 1599 grant accordingly speaks of the ancestors of John Shakspere having been advanced and rewarded for their services by King Henry VII. (Folio *Life*, p. 69.) Heralds' gammon, no doubt. That some actors had turnd squires, *The Returne from Pernassus* (1602), printed 1606, tells us :—

"England affords those glorious vagabonds,
That carried erst their fardles on their backs,
Coursers to ride on through the gazing streets,
Sweeping it in their glaring satin suits,
And pages to attend their mastership;
With mouthing words that better wits have framed,
They purchase lands, and now esquires are made."
—Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 202.

representeth. No man hath hurt by it but himselfe, who peraduenture will go in wider buskens than his legs will beare, or as our prouerbe saith, now and then beare a bigger saile than his boat is able to susteine." (Sir Thomas Smith borrowd this passage.)

Now the "monie" for the grant of arms to John Shakspere, then known at Stratford as a "yeoman," can hardly have come from him. Without doubt his rising London son supplied it. And when the second grant was applied for, and made, in 1599, the heralds, Dethick and Camden, wouldn't quarter with Shakspere's arms those of the Warwickshire gentlefolk, the Ardens of Park Hall, Curdworth—*Ermine, a fess checquy or and azure*—but gave instead the arms of the more distant Ardernes of Alvanley, in Cheshire—*Gules, three crosslets fitchée, and a chief or, with a martlet for difference*—who were farther away from Stratford, and not likely to have notice of the matter, or make any fuss about it. Moreover, there is no existing record of the Arden quartering ever having been assumed by Shakspere or his family. On his monument are the Shakspere arms alone; and they alone are impaled on his daughter Susanna's monument with those of Hall. When he grew older, had his position, and married his younger daughter Judith to a wine-dealer's[1] son, he no doubt gave up the ambitious fancy of his earlier days.

In or before Easter Term of the 39th of Elizabeth, 1597, Shakspere bought of William Underhill, for £60, New Place,[2] a house and grounds at the corner of (the Guild) Chapel Lane, and Chapel Street leading to the Grammar School and church. The house was built by Sir Hugh Clopton, about 1490, bought by a Stratford attorney, William Bott, in 1563, and sold by him to

[1] Remember that Chaucer's father, uncle, and grandfather were wine-dealers and taverners, too. In fact, their very name, 'Chaucer,' was a trade name, their true name, as Mr. V. Redstone has lately discoverd, being 'Malins.' But 'Chaucer' is in the Battle Abbey Roll.

[2] So calld before it came into Shakspere's hands. Early in the sixteenth century, when the Cloptons had it, it was calld 'The great house.' (Halliwell, Octavo *Life*, p. 166.)

Wm. Underhill in 1567. In the note[1] of the fine levied on the sale to Shakspere, Underhill is described as *generosus*, a gentleman, but Shakspere is not so calld. And as in fines the description of the property was almost always doubled,[2] we find here, as in the double garden and orchard on the sale of the birthplace property, that there were two barns and two gardens included. Shakspere repaird New Place. Long after his death a new house was built, probably on its foundations, and of these a few scraps can still be seen, owing to Mr. Halliwell's care. (He got up a subscription to buy the place.)[3]

Early in 1598, Shakspere wanted to lay out more money in the neighbourhood of Stratford, and was nibbling at the tithes of which he afterwards bought a moiety or half-part in 1605. Abraham Sturley, writing on January 24, 1597-8, from Stratford to a friend in London—evidently Richard Quiney, father of Shakspere's future wine-dealing son-in-law—says :—"It semeth bi him ('ur [=your] father'), that our countriman, Mr. Shakspere, is willinge to disburse some monei upon some od yarde land or other att Shottri or neare about us; he thinketh it a veri fitt patterne to move him to deale in the matter of our tithes. Bi the instruccions u can geve him theareof, and bi the frendes he can make therefore, we thinke it a faire marke for him to shoote att, and not unpossible to hitt. It obtained, would advance him in deede, and would do us much good." (*Halliwell*, Octavo 172, Folio 140.) A Subsidy

[1] "Exemplification" is the technical word for it.

[2] The reason given me as a pupil in chambers for this practice was, that the fine might include enough; one garden might have been accidentally left out of the description of the property bought. Often, with arable land too, some pasture was thrown in on spec.

[3] In 1597 were publisht the first or spurious Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* and the first Quartos of *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* In 1598, second editions of *Lucrece*, *Richard II.*, *Richard III.*, and the first of 1 *Henry IV.* and *Love's Labour's Lost*. The latter play was written about by R. Tofte, in 1598. I suppose that 2 *Henry IV.* was written in 1598-9, and *The Merry Wives* in 1599.

Roll, dated October 1, 1598, shows that a namesake (? no relation) of our poet was assest 13*s.* 4*d.* on property in the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London: "Affld. William Shakespeare, v. *li.*—xiij. *s.* iiij. *d.*" During a scarcity of grain at Stratford, "A noate of corne and malte" there was taken—dated February 4, 1597-8, and among the dwellers in Chapel Street Ward is enterd as a holder of grain, "Wm. Shackespere, X quarters." In this year too is the following entry in the Chamberlains' account: "Pd. to Mr. Shaxpere for on lod of ston . . . . x. *d.*" As the repairs of New Place were probably going on, the poet, and not his father, was probably the seller of the stone.

In a dateless and unsignd letter, "To my lovynge sonne Rycharde Quyney, at the Belle in Carter Leyne, deliver thesse in London," evidently written by Adrian Quiney of Stratford, and perhaps in 1598, is the following sentence: "Yff yow bargen with Wm. Sha . . . . or receve money therefor, brynge your money home, that yow maye." Next comes the only letter written to Shakspere that has survived to us. It is from his friend, the above-named Richard Quiney, asking for the loan of £30:—"Loveinge contreyman, I am bolde of yow, as of a ffrende, craveinge yowr helpe with xxx. *li.* vppon Mr. Bushells and my securytee, or Mr. Myttons with me. Mr. Rosswell is nott come to London as yeate, and I have especiall cawse. Yow shall ffrende me muche in helpeing me out of all the debet*tes* I owe in London, I thancke God, & muche quiet my mynde, w*hi*ch wolde nott be indebeted. I am nowe towardes the Cowrte, in hope of answer for the dispatche of my Buysnes. Yow shall nether loase creddytt nor monney by me, the Lorde wyllinge; & nowe butt p*er*swade yowrselfe soe, as I hope, and yow shall nott need to feare butt with all heartie thanckefullnes I wyll holde my tyme, and content yowr ffrende; & yf we Bargaine farther, yow shalbe the paie-m*aster* yowr selfe. my tyme bidd*es* me hastene to an ende, and soe I c*om*mitt thys [to] yowr care, & hope of yowr helpe. I feare I

shall nott be backe thys night ffrom the Cowrte. Haste. The Lorde be with yow & with us all. amen! ffrom the Bell in Carter Lane, the 25 octobr 1598.

"Yowrs in all kyndenes,

"RYC. QUYNEY.

"To my loueinge good ffrend and contreyman, Mr. Wm. Shackespere, deliver thees."

On November 4, 1598, the before-named Abraham Sturley writes from Stratford "to his most lovinge brother, Mr. Richard Quinei, att the Bell in Carter Lane att London . . . . Ur [=Your] letter of the 25. of Octobr . . . imported . . . that our countriman Mr. Wm. Shak. would procure us monei, which I will like of, as I shall heare when and wheare and howe; and I prai let not go that occasion, if it mai sorte to ani indifferent condicions. Allso, that if monei might be had for 30 or 40*l.*, a lease &c. might be procured. . . ."

In 1598 came Meres' praise of Shakspere, and a list of his poems and plays, already noted on p. 64, note 2; and in the same year Shakspere acted in Ben Jonson's famous comedy of *Every Man in his Humour*.[1] In 1598 also "The Theater" built by James Burbage, where his and his sons' (or Shakspere's) company playd, was pulld down, and rebuilt as "The Globe" on Bankside, Southwark, in 1599; and Shakspere, being a "deserveing" man, was taken as one of the "partners in the profittes of that they call the House" (*see* Introduction to *Henry V.*, p. 10, note 1), that is the chief actors' share, not including that of the Burbages as owners of the lease of the theatre from Sir Matthew Brand. He got him "a fellowship in a cry of players" (*Hamlet*, III. ii. p. 126), tho' not "halfe a share." I take this admission as a partner into the profits of the New *Globe* as the start of a new Period in Shakspere's life. It marks definitely his success

[1] His name stands first in the list of the actors at the end of the play in the Folio edition of Jonson's Works, 1616.

in London better than his purchase of New Place at Stratford does.[1]

3. The Third Period of Shakspere's life, tho' I call it the Period of Assured-Success, opens darkly like the dark Third Period of his plays, that of his greatest tragedies. In January, 1601 (1600-1), Essex's rebellion breaks out, and, for his share in it, Lord Southampton, Shakspere's patron, is imprisond in the Tower, where he stays till James I.'s accession in 1603 (*see* p. 36 and Introduction to *Julius Cæsar*). On September 8, 1601, Shakspere's father, John Shakspere, was buried at Stratford. On May-day, 1602, Shakspere buys of Wm. and Jn. Combe, for £320, a hundred and seven acres of arable land in the parish of Old Stratford; and as he was not then at Stratford, the conveyance was deliverd to his brother Gilbert.[2] On September 28, 1602, Walter Gatley surrenderd to Shakspere a cottage with its appurtenances,[3] in Walker's Street, *alias* Dead Lane, Stratford, near New Place. And by a fine levied in Michaelmas Term, 1602, we learn that Shakspere bought of Hercules Underhill for £60 a messuage with two barns, two orchards, and two gardens, in Stratford: the doubling was no doubt

[1] In 1599 came out the pirated *Passionate Pilgrim*, the fourth edition of *Venus and Adonis*, and the second of 1 *Henry IV.*, and the second or genuine Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*. *Henry V.* was written in 1599, and *Much Ado* and *As You Like It* by or in 1600. 1600 was the chief publishing year of Shakspere's life. It saw issued a fifth edition of *Venus*, a third of *Lucrece*, first of 2 *Henry IV.* and *Much Ado*, first and second of both *The Merchant* and the *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, first or imperfect Quarto of *Henry V.*, and the first-second edition of *Titus Andronicus*. Greg has shown, however, that some of the 1600 Quartos bore forged date, and should be 1619. (*See The Library*, April, 1908.)

[2] Shakspere seems to have increast this property afterwards, for in a fine levied on it in Trinity Term, 1611, an additional "twenty acres of pasture land" are described; and that this was not a fancy addition (p. 183, n. 2, above) appears from the fact that "in a deed which bears date in 1652, this land is also stated to be of the same extent." (Halliwell, Folio *Life*, p. 165.) In the conveyance, Shakspere is described as "gentleman," and in the exemplification of the fine of the Gatley sale as *generosus* (gentleman).

[3] It was copyhold of the Manor of Rowington. The Shaksperes of Rowington were a different family.

due to the fancy addition in the note of the fine. In a most interesting play, *The Returne from Pernassus*, which is dated 1602, from its mentioning the Queen's day (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 161), occurs the following testimony to Shakspere's powers (*ib.*, 194): "*Kemp.* Few of the university, pen plaies well; they smell too much of that writer *Ovid*, and that writer *Metamorphosis*, and talke too much of *Proserpina & Juppiter*. Why, here's our fellow *Shakespeare* puts them all downe, I, and *Ben Jonson* too. O, that *Ben Jonson* is a pestilent fellow; he brought up *Horace* giving the Poets a pill; but our fellow *Shakespeare* hath given him a purge that made him beray his credit." "*Burbage.* It 's a shrewd fellow indeed."[1]—(Ingleby's *Centurie of Prayse*, 1874, p. 39.)

On March 24, 1602-3, Queen Elizabeth died. Shakspere had written on her in *Midsummer-Night's Dream* those delightful lines on the "fair vestal thronèd in the west," "the imperial votaress," II. ii. p. 40. She had

> "Gracèd his desert,
> And to his laies opend her royall eare,"

as Chettle says in his *Englandes Mourning Garment*, 1603 (New Shakspere Society's *Allusion-Books*, p. 98); she had been "so taken" by his plays, as Ben Jonson said in his lines "To the Memory of Shakspere"; she had so liked Falstaff that she had orderd his creator to show him in love (*see* Introduction to *The Merry Wives*, p. 9), and yet, as Chettle complains, "the silvertongèd Melicert" (Shakspere) did not "drop from his honied Muse one sable teare." His company no doubt expected favours from James I., thru one of their members, Laurence Fletcher, who had acted before James in Scotland, with the English actors who were there between October, 1599, and December, 1601, and who was granted

[1] In 1602 were publisht the sixth and seventh Quartos of *Venus and Adonis*, the third of *Richard III.*, the first botcht Quarto of *Hamlet*, the first imperfect one of *The Merry Wives*, and the second of *Henry V.* *All's Well* and *Julius Cæsar* I assign to 1601, *Hamlet* to 1602-3, and *Measure for Measure* to 1603.

the freedom of the city of Aberdeen on October 22, 1601, as "comedian to his Majesty." Accordingly, ten days after James had reacht London, he, by Warrant dated May 17, 1603, licenst Fletcher's (or Shakspere's) company, "these our servants, Laurence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillippes, John Hemmings, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyn, Richard Cowlye, and the rest of their associats, freely to use and exercise the arte and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralls, pastoralls, stage-plaies, and such other like . . . as well for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure when we shall thinke good to see them, during our pleasure; and the said comedies, trajedies, histories, enterludes, moralls, pastoralls, stage-plaies, and such like, to show and exercise publiquely to their best commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall decrease, as well within their now usuall howse called the Globe, within our county of Surrey, as also within anie towne halls, or mout halls, or other convenient places within the liberties and freedome of any other citie, universitie, towne, or borough whatsoever, within our said realmes and dominions . . . ."

Shakspere's company was thus changed from "The Lord Chamberlain's Servants" to "The King's Players." But it is quite clear from the Warrant, and the Burbages' Memorial of 1635 (*see* Introduction to *Henry V.*, pp. 10–12,) that when the Warrant was issued, the company did not play at the Blackfriars Theatre, as that had been then for some time "leased out to one Evans that first sett up the boyes, commonly called the Queenes Majesties Children of the Chappell." It is also quite clear that when, evidently after 1603, the Burbages bought back "the lease remaining from Evans with our money," Shakspere was still an actor,[1] for the Burbages say they placed in the Blackfriars "men *players*, which were Hemings, Condall, Shakespeare," &c. I see no

[1] I know some critics hold that Shakspere left London in 1604. But then they are such awful guessers. They put *Henry VIII.* in 1604 too.

reason to doubt that Shakspere remaind an actor as long as he stayd in London. It is possible that his Sonnet CXI. might have been written as late as 1607-8; the later the better, I think, as showing a reason why he'd like to turn his back on London. The plague of which James I.'s Warrant speaks, is mentiond by Stowe on pp. 1,415, 1,425 of his *Annals*, ed. 1605. It stopt the King from riding from the Tower thru the City, as was customary before coronations; the citizens were orderd not to come to Westminster; Wednesday, August 5, and every succeeding Wednesday, were appointed to be kept holy, for the offering of prayers "while the heavy hand of God, by the plague of pestilence, continued among us"; and between December 23, 1602, and December 22, 1603, there died of the plague 30,578 souls.[1] After the latter date Stowe does not mention the plague. It probably stopt gradually; must certainly have been over by March; as, for the proces-

[1] "Also by reason of God's visitation for our sinnes, the plague of Pest[ilence] there raigning in the Citty of London and suburbes (the Pageants and other showes of triumph, in most sumptuous maner prepared, but not finished), the Kinge rode not from the Toure through the Citty in royal manner as had bene accustomed; neither were the Citizens permitted to come at Westminster, but forbidden by proclamation for feare of infection to be by that meanes increased, for there died that weake in the Citye of London and suburbes, of all diseases, 1103; of the plague, 857."—Pp. 1415 and 1416 (the second couple so numberd).

"Wednesday the 10. of August was by the ordinary appoynted to be kept Holliday, and fasted, the church to be frequented with praiers to almighty God, Sermons of repentance to the people, and charity to the poore to be collected & distributed, and the like commanded to be done weekly euery wednesday while the heauy hand of God, by the plague of pest[ilence], continued among vs."—P. 1416 (the second).

"In the former yeare, to wit 1602, the plague of pest[ilence] being great in Holland, Sealand, and other the low countries, and many souldiers returning thence into England, the infection was also spred in diuers parts of this realme; namely [= especially], in the Citie of London and liberties thereof it so increased, that in the space of one whole yeare, to wit, from the 23. of December 1602 vnto the 22. of December, 1603, there died of all diseases (as was weekly accompted by the parish clerks, and so certified to the King), 38244, whereof, of the Plague, 30578. God make vs penitent. For he is mercifull."—P. 1425.

sion of King James, his Queen Anne, and son Henry, on March 15, 1603–4, to the City of London, the King's Players, as part of the Household,[1] were each given four yards and a half of "red cloth"; and the first name in the list of nine players is "William Shakespeare" (from "The Accompte of Sir George Howne, Knight, *Master* of the Greate Warederobe" to James I.—*Athenæum*, April 30, 1864; *New Shak. Soc. Trans.*, 1877–9, p. 11); and on April 9, 1604, the King's Council wrote a Letter to the Lord Mayor of London and the Magistrates of Middlesex and Surrey, directing them to allow the King's Company (or Shakspere's), and the Queen's, and Prince's, "publicklie to exercise their plaies in ther severall usuall howses," &c.[2] Was Shakspere revising *Hamlet*[3] (the second or genuine Quarto was publisht in 1604), writing *Measure for Measure* (the tone of the play would suit a plague-struck city: *see* Introduction to *Measure for Measure*, p. 10), and planning *Othello* during his enforced leisure?[4]

On July 24, 1604, Shakspere bought for £440 the remaining thirty-two years' term of the moiety or half of a ninety-two years' lease (granted in 1544) of the great and small tithes of Stratford, Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe, no doubt the same property that he'd been

[1] Shakspere's yearly fee was no doubt £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, like that of James's "Plaiers of enterludes, 8," in 1614. (Lansd. MS. 272, leaf 27.)

[2] To this letter, after Malone saw it, was stuck a forged list—first printed by Mr. Collier, as usual—of the King's Players, with "Shakespeare" second in it. Another forged passage about Shakspere was printed by Mr. Collier in Mrs. Alleyn's letter of October 20, 1603; another about Lodge was also printed by him, &c. &c. *See* the books of my friends Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton and Dr. Ingleby on these shameful matters; also Dr. Warner's Catalog of the Dulwich MSS., and W. W. Greg's editions of Henslowe's Diary and Papers.

[3] Neither of his uses of *plague* in III. i., IV. vii., or *pestilence* in V. i. 196, can be taken as an allusion. See my Forewords to Griggs's Facsimile of *Hamlet*, Quarto 2 (1604), 1880.

[4] The suit of William Shakspere against Philip Rogers in 1604 for £1 19*s.* 10*d.* was no doubt brought by William Shakspere the corn-dealer of Stratford, the namesake and contemporary of the poet. Mrs. Stopes has shown that there were sixteen William Shaksperes living in the poet's time in divers places.

after in January, 1597-8, and the conveyance is from "Raphe Husbande, esquire, to William Shakespeare, of Stratford uppon Avon, gentleman." It must have been a good purchase, as it brought in £60 a year, that is, paid 5 per cent. on the whole of the purchase-money during the thirty-two years, and brought back besides—in yearly instalments of £38, which could be re-invested as they came in—£1,216 for the £440.[1] Augustine Phillips of Shakspere's company (*see* Introduction to *Richard II.*, p. 8, the Burbages' Memorial, Introduction to *Henry V.*, and James I.'s Warrant, p. 188, above), by his will, dated May, 1605, leaves "William Shakespeare a thirty-shilling peece in gold."[2] [Gunpowder Plot, November 5, 1605.]

In 1607, Shakspere's eldest daughter, Susanna, being then 24, married, on June 7, Dr. John Hall, a physician at Stratford of large practice,[3] to the englisht notes of whose cures of patients—including his own wife and daughter, himself, the poet Drayton, &c.—I have alluded in the Introduction to *Pericles*, when stating my belief that Dr. Hall is to some extent embodied in Cerimon of that play. (Had he but cured Shakspere in 1616 instead of letting him die, we should have had an interesting account of the success. Possibly some successor of Ireland and our Victorian Shakspere-forgers will produce an earlier cure of Shakspere from the thousand notes of cases of which Dr. Hall's translator speaks in his Post-

[1] But if we allow 10 per cent. for interest—as Shakspere does in his will on his younger daughter Judith Quiney's marriage-portion—then the yearly balance of £16 would only return £512 for the £440.

[2] In 1605, the fourth edition of *Richard III.* was publisht; in 1607, the fourth edition of *Lucrece*. I suppose *Othello* to have been written in 1604, *Macbeth* in 1605-6, *Lear* in 1605-6, *Troilus and Cressida* in 1603, and *Antony and Cleopatra* in 1606-7.

[3] "This Learned Author lived in our time, and in the County of Warwick, where he practised Physik many years, and in great Fame for his skill, far and near. Those who seemed highly to esteem him, and whom by Gods blessing he wrought these cures upon, you shall finde to be among others, Persons Noble, Rich, and Learned."—James Cooke, the englisher of Dr. Hall's *Cures*: "To the Judicious Reader." Dr. Hall left another book ready for the press, besides his *Cures*. His widow sold them both to Mr. Cooke as another man's MSS. (*Cures*, sign. A 3, back).

script.) On December 31, Shakspere's youngest brother, Edmund, "player," was buried at St. Saviour's, Southwark, close to the Globe Theatre, and 20*s.* were paid for a "forenoon knell of the great bell." Shakspere's first granddaughter, Elizabeth Hall, the only child of her parents, was baptised on February 21, 1607-8; and on "1608, September 9, Mayry Shaxpere, Wydowe," our poet's mother, was buried at Stratford. On October 16, Shakspere stands godfather to a boy, William Walker—son of Henry Walker, of Stratford, chosen alderman January 3, 1605-6—to whom he afterwards left by his will "20*s.* in gold." In 1608 died Thomas Whittington, shepherd to Richard Hathaway, and by his will left "unto the poor of Stratford 40*s.* that is in the hand of Anne Shaxspere, wyfe unto Mr. Wyllyam Shaxspere, and is due debt unto me, being paid to mine executor by the sayd Wyllyam Shaxspere or his assignes." In August, 1608, Shakspere brought an action against John Addenbrooke for a debt. After several months' delay a verdict was given in Shakspere's favour for £6, and £1 4*s.* costs; but as the defendant couldn't be found, Shakspere sued Addenbrooke's bail, Thomas Horneby, for the money. The latest date noted in the record is June 7, 1609.[1]

4. In or about 1609, after the Period of his great Tragedies, grandfather Shakspere is supposed to have left London, for his new life at Stratford, his fresh delight in all its flowers and scenes, its sweet girls and country sports. There is nothing definite to fix the change to any one year; but as Shakspere's *Sonnets* and *Pericles* were both publisht, evidently without his leave, in 1609; as a new tone—a new scent as of violets or sweetbriar—breathes from his plays in and after 1609; as the later ones are loose in dramatic construction, as if written away from the theatre; as Shakspere must,

[1] In 1608 were issued the first and second Quartos of *Lear*, the fourth of 1 *Henry IV.*, the third of *Richard II.*, and the third of the imperfect *Henry V.* One of the *Lear* Quartos and the *Henry V.* Quarto had forged dates. I put down *Coriolanus* and *Timon* as written in 1607-8. Milton, Clarendon, and Fuller were born in 1608.

before he made his will, have sold or releast to his partners all his interest in the Globe and Blackfriars profits, and in his plays, we conclude that his leaving town dates from 1609 or thereabouts,[1] tho' the first Stratford tidings seem against the notion. In September, 1609, Thomas Greene, the Town-Clerk of Stratford, says that a G. Brown might stay longer in his (Greene's) house, "the rather because I perceyved I might stay another yere at New Place." Greene may have been living there with his "cosen Shakspere"; if not, Shakspere cannot have settled at New Place till later. By June 21, 1611, Thomas Greene is probably in his own house, as an order was made that the town is "to repare the churchyard wall at Mr. Greene's dwelling-place" (Halliwell's *Hist. of New Place*). In a list of donations "colected towardes the charge of prosecutyng the bill in Parliament for the better repayre of the highe waies, and amendinge divers defects in the statutes already made," dated Wednesday, September 11, 1611, the name of "Mr. William Shackspere" is found in the margin, with no sum to it. "This MS.," says Mr. Halliwell in his Folio *Life*, p. 202, "evidently relates to Stratford."[2]

The draft of a bill[3] to be filed before Lord Ellesmere by "Richard Lane, of Awston, in the cownty of Warwicke, esquire, Thomas Greene, of Stratford uppon Avon, in the said county of Warwicke, esquire, and William Shackspeare, of Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid, in the said county of Warwicke, gentleman," undated, but seemingly drawn up in 1612, shows Shakspere in a lawsuit about his share in the tithes which

[1] In 1609 were publisht the *Sonnets*, the first edition of *Troilus and Cressida* (in two states, with differing titles—*see* Introduction to *Troilus*), the first and second Quartos of *Pericles*, and the third and fourth of *Romeo and Juliet*. Shakspere's part of *Pericles* I date 1608-9, and *The Tempest* 1609-10.

[2] In 1611 came out the fourth edition of *Hamlet*, the third of *Pericles*, and the third of *Titus Andronicus*. I suppose *Cymbeline* to have been written in 1609-10, *The Winter's Tale* in 1611, and the Shakspere (?) part of *Henry VIII.* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (?) in 1610-13.

[3] See Folio *Life*, p. 212.

he had bought in 1605. Some of the lessees of the tithes had refused to pay their share of a reservd rent of £27 13*s.* 4*d.*, and had thus driven Shakspere and a few others to pay the defaulters' share as well as their own, in order to prevent the lease being forfeited. The draft bill states Shakspere's income from the tithes of corn and grain, wool and lamb, privy tithes, oblations and alterages as being £60 a year.[1] His brother Richard was buried at Stratford on February 4, 1612-13. On the 10th of March in that year Shakspere bought for £140 from Henry Walker, citizen and minstrel, of London, a house[2] and a piece of ground near the Blackfriars Theatre, "abutting upon a streete leading down to Pudle Wharffe on the east part, right against the Kinges Maiesties' Wardrobe." But as Shakspere only paid £80 of the purchase-money, he next day mortgaged the property to the vendor Henry Walker for the odd £60, and let the house, which he mentions in his will, to John Robinson, the then tenant of it. On June 29, 1613, the Globe Theatre on Bankside, Blackfriars, was burnt down during a performance of *Henry VIII.*, as I have noted in the Introduction to that play; and we can fancy Shakspere's feelings on hearing of the destruction of the old house, for so many years the scene of his triumphs. He must have been glad to see its rebuilding at once begun. In a paper dated September 5, 1614, Shakspere is mentiond among the "Auncient ffreeholders in the ffields of Old Stratford and Welcombe," viz. :—"Mr. Shakspeare, Thomas Parker, Mr. Lane, Sir Frauncys Smyth, Mace, Arthur Cawdrey, and Mr. Wright, Vicar of Bishopton;"

[1] In 1612 were publisht the fifth edition of *Richard III.* and the third (with Heywood's Poems)—no copy of the second edition is known—of *The Passionate Pilgrim;* in 1613, the fifth Quarto of 1 *Henry IV.*

[2] See a woodcut of what purports to be it in Halliwell's Octavo *Life*, p. 247. The counterpart of the conveyance (printed *ib.*, pp. 248-251) is in the Guildhall Library, London. The mortgage is in the British Museum. An autotype of it is in the showroom there, and a copy can be had at the Museum for 2*s.*

thus, "Mr. Shakspeare 4 yard land, noe common nor ground beyond Gospell-bushe, nor ground in Sandfield, nor none in Slow-hill-field beyond Bishopton, nor none in the enclosures beyond Bishopton." And by an agreement, dated October 8, 1614, between Shakspere and William Replingham, a joint-owner with him of the tithes before-mentiond, Replingham covenanted with Shakspere to repay him all such loss as he should incur in respect of the decreasing[1] of the yearly value of the tithes held by Replingham and Shakspere, by reason of any enclosure or decay of tillage intended in the tithable fields by the said Replingham. To the enclosure of the Welcombe common and hills, whence the best view of Stratford is to be got, the Corporation was strongly opposed,—as so many writers of Tudor time were to like enclosures, because they cared for their poorer neighbours;—and the Corporation clerk or lawyer, Shakspere's kinsman, Thomas Greene, was in London on this business when he made the following Memorandum:—

"1614: Jovis, 17 No. My cosen Shakspear comyng yesterdy to town, I went to see him how he did. He told me that they assured him they ment to inclose no further than to Gospell Bush, and so upp straight (leavyng out part of the Dyngles to the ffield) to the gate in Clopton hedg, and take in Salisburyes peece; and that they mean in Aprill to survey the land, and then to gyve satisfaccion, and not before; and he and Mr. Hall[2] say they think ther will be nothyng done at all." (Folio *Life*, p. 222.)

About a fortnight after the above date, says Dyce, Greene, having left Shakspere in London, returnd to Stratford; where he continued his notes:—"23 Dec. A hall. Lettres wrytten, one to Mr. Manyring, another to Mr. Shakspear, with almost all the company's hands to eyther. I also wrytte myself to my cosen Shakspear the coppyes of all our acts, and then also

[1] MS. 'increasinge.' Folio *Life*, p. 221.

[2] No doubt, the doctor, Shakspere's son-in-law.

& not of the inconvenyences wold happen by the inclosure."

"The letter to Arthur Mainwaring (Lord Ellesmere's domestic auditor) is still preserved; but the more interesting one has perished." A page of Thomas Greene's Diary survives, in which are the three following entries relating to Shakspere's business and the enclosures:—1. [1614–15] "10 Januarii, 1614. Mr. Manwaryng and his agreement for me with my cosen Shakspeare." 2. [1614–15] "9 Jan., 1614. Mr. Replyngham, 28 Octobris, article with Mr. Shakspear, and then I was putt in by Thursday." 3. [1615] "1 Sept. Mr. Shakspeare told Mr. J. Greene that I was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe."[1] (Folio *Life*, p. 223.)

"In the seventeenth report of the Historical MSS. Commission, 1907," says Munro, "is the account, p. 23, of the discovery in the Earl of Rutland's MSS. of the entry of a payment to Shakspere and Richard Burbage for an *impreso* for the Earl. Shakspere receivd 44*s.* in gold for his share, and Burbage a like sum for painting and making the *impreso*, which appears to have been a device and motto borne by the Earl in a tournament. The tilting, which took place on March 24, 1612–13, is described by Sir Henry Wotton (*Reliquæ Wottonianæ*, 1685, 405–6)[2] in a letter to Sir Edmund Bacon (March 31, 1613), where the names of twenty tilters are given, and among them Rutland, and where the devices are noted of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and his brother, Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery. Rutland's device is, unfortunately, not described. The Shakspere mentiond here has always been considerd to be our poet William, but Mrs. Stopes's opinion is that the person indicated may have been John Shakspere the bit-maker and not the poet (*see* her article, *Athenæum*, May 16, 1908).

[1] Our poet did not live to see the termination of this contest; it was not till 1618 that an order of the Privy Council forbade all further attempt at enclosure (Dyce).

[2] *See* L. Pearsall Smith's letter in *The Times*, Jan. 3, 1906.

JUDITH SHAKSPERE'S WEDDING

In 1614 died John Combe, bailiff or factor to the Earl of Warwick, and by his will left "To Mr. William Shackspere, five pounds." In the same will is mentiond "Parsons close, *alias* Shakespeares[1] close." This year too the Stratford Corporation, according to their custom when a strange preacher preacht before them, sent a present of wine to one—a Puritan, no doubt—stopping at Shakspere's house. The Chamberlain's account charges, "Item: for one quart of sack, and on quart of clarett wine, geven to a preacher at the Newe Place, xx^{d}."

On January 25, 1615-16, the fair copy of Shakspere's will was ready, but he put off executing it till March 25—when he had some alterations made in it—after the marriage of his younger daughter, Judith, then 31, who, like her mother, wedded, on February 10, a man younger than herself—tho' only four years now, not eight—Thomas Quiney,[2] vintner and wine-merchant of Stratford, son of the Richard Quiney who in 1598 askt Shakspere to lend him £30 (p. 184 above), and who died on May 31, 1602, while bailiff of Stratford. From the fact of Judith having made her mark to a deed instead of signing her name, it has been supposed that she could not write; but this is not certain, as many folk well known in history, who could write, have still put their marks to deeds. Susanna Hall could write fairly.

Shakspere's Blackfriars house was part of a large property belonging to the Bacon family, and when this was cut up and sold, Bacon's widow Anne retaind the title-deeds of it, instead of handing them over to the largest purchaser to hold for the use of himself and his fellow-buyers. So on April 26, 1615, Shakspere associated himself with these fellow-buyers, in a Bill of Complaint to recover the title-deeds which were detaind by the widow's heir, Matthew Bacon. The

[1] It's in Hampton, bounded by Ingon Lane, leading on one side to Snitterfield, on the other to Stratford. (*See* the plan in *Halliwell.*) Nothing is known to connect it with Shakspere.

[2] The name still exists in Stratford, and, I believe, is pronounst "Quin-ny." But Dr. Hall wrote "Queeny."

defendant in his answer on May 5 denies that he holds these deeds in trust, and maintains that he cannot deliver them up until discharged by the court. The Lord Chancellor's decision is with the plaintiffs, and orders that Matthew Bacon is to bring the deeds to court, to be disposed of as shall be thought fit, and an intimation is given that further action may be taken, if the plaintiffs care to do so.[1]

Having executed his will on March 25, Shakspere died at New Place on April 23, 1616, and was buried in the chancel of Stratford Church on the 25th.[2] The only report as to the cause of his death is in the Diary (printed in 1839) of the Rev. John Ward, who was appointed Vicar of Stratford in 1662, that "Shakespeare, Drayton, and Ben Jonson had a merie meeting, and itt seems drank too hard, for Shakespear died of a feavour there contracted." Mr. Halliwell has in his *History of New Place* suggested another cause: that the pigsties and nuisances which the Corporation books show to have existed in Chapel Lane, which ran the whole length of New Place, bred the fever of which Shakspere is said to have died. Mr. Halliwell gives several extracts from the books, as—"1605: the Chamberlaines shall gyve warning to Henry Smyth to plucke downe his pigges cote which is built nere the chapple wall, and the house of office (=privy) there." (*New Place*, p. 29.)

[1] Discoverd by Prof. C. W. Wallace, of Nebraska. *See* his article with the text of the documents, in *The Standard*, Oct. 18, 1905, p. 5.—M.

[2] These dates are Old Style ones. April 23 and 25 correspond to May 3 and May 5, New Style (*see* below, p. 204). In 1616, the fifth Quarto of *Lucrece* was publisht. In the 1615 Continuation of Stowe's *Annals* by Edmund Howes, "M. Willi. Shakespeare, gentleman," is enterd among "Our moderne and present excellent Poets which worthely florish in their owne workes" (p. 811).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SHAKSPERE'S WILL, TOMB AND DESCENDANTS

SHAKSPERE'S WILL.—By his will, Shakspere, like so many other unjust Englishmen, in accordance with the unjust custom of their country, settled almost all his property on his eldest child, and gave the younger much less. He bequeathd his daughter Judith (Quiney) only: (1.) £150—£100 as a marriage portion (with 10 per cent. interest on it till it was paid), and £50 on her releasing her right in his Rowington copyhold tenement (in Dead Lane, p. 186, above) to her sister Susanna Hall. (2.) £150 more if she or any issue of hers should be living at the end of three years from Shakspere's death, with interest thereon at £10 per cent. in the meantime. (If she should die without issue in three years—she livd till February, 1638-9, surviving her three children—Shakspere gave £100 to his "niece [granddaughter], Elizabeth Hall," and £50 to be invested for, and the income from it paid to, his sister, "Johane Harte," during her life, the principal going equally among her children at her death. But if Judith Quiney survived the three years (as she did), her £150 was to be invested, the interest paid to her during her life, and the principal among her children after her death. Also, if her husband should settle on her and her issue lands worth the £150, in the judgment of Shakspere's executors, they were to pay the husband "the said cl.*li.*" (the contraction for £150). Then Shakspere gives his sister, Joan Hart, £20 and all his wearing apparel, and a life interest in the house in Stratford wherein she dwelt, she paying 12*d.* a year rent for it. He also gave her three sons, William, ——, and Michael, £5 each. Then came the small legacies: all his plate, except

his broad silver and gilt bowl (which he gave to his daughter Judith), he bequeathd to the said Elizabeth Hall; £10 to the Stratford poor; his sword to Mr. Thomas Combe; £5 to Thomas Russell, esquire; £13 6*s.* 8*d.* to Francis Collins, of Warwick; then for rings, 26*s.* 8*d.* each to Hamlett Sadler, William Raynoldes, "my fellowes, John Hemynges, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell"; 20*s.* in gold to his godson William Walker, and 26*s.* 8*d.* to Mr. John Nashe.

Then came the main devise of the will: he gave his New Place, his tenement in Henley Street, his Stratford, Old-Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe tithes, his Blackfriars house near the Wardrobe, let to Robinson, and all his other hereditaments, to his daughter Susanna Hall for her life, and then to her sons successively in tail male; and in default of sons, to his said "neece" (that is, granddaughter, eight years old) Elizabeth Hall in tail male; and in default of such issue, to his daughter Judith Quiney in tail male; and in default of such issue, to his own right heirs. Then, by an interlined bequest, he gave his wife his second-best bed with the furniture. (She would be entitled to dower in his freeholds, and to freebench in his copyholds, if the custom of the manor gave it.) All the rest of his personalty, after payment of debts, legacies, and funeral expenses, he gave to his son-in-law, "John Hall, gent.," and his daughter Susanna, John Hall's wife, and made them executors of his will, the said Thomas Russell and Francis Collins being overseers of it—to see that the executors did their duty.—The will was witnesst by "Fra: Collins, Julyus Shawe, John Robinson, Hamnet Sadler, Robert Whattcott," and if the law was then as it is now, Collins and Sadler[1] lost their claim to their legacies by witnessing the will.

The will is on three sheets of moderate size, signd by Shakspere on the margin of the first sheet, at the foot of the second, and about the middle of the third. It was

[1] If "Hamnet" and "Hamlett" Sadler were one and the same man, as I suppose they were.

proved on June 22, 1616, by John Hall, who alone acted as executor, power being reservd, as usual, for Susanna Hall to prove, when she wanted to. The note of the proof contains the words "(Inv. ex.)," which shows that Dr. Hall exhibited an Inventory of Shakspere's goods; and I long hoped that the Fire of London and the rats and rain of and in the St. Paul's Cathedral rooms, where the 17th century Inventories long were, might have left this Shakspere Inventory in one of the eight-and-twenty boxes in the Probate Office containing these Inventories. After I saw them in an underground room in Doctors' Commons, some ten or eleven years ago, I tried to get the Treasury to appoint a clerk to catalogue these Inventories, but in vain, and so was obliged to have a turn at them myself in the spring of 1881. Mr. J. Chaloner Smith (the then superintendent of the Literary Search Department) and I, tested every one of the boxes in all its parts, giving about three hours to each box, but we could not find one inventory of Shakspere's time. All but some two or three per cent. were of the date 1660 to 1700, though a few went up to 1530, and a few others down to 1724. We were forced to conclude that all the early 17th century Inventories were burnt in the Fire of London. The only Inventory we found in any way relating to Shakspere was that of Sir John Barnard, the second and surviving husband of Shakspere's granddaughter, Elizabeth Hall; and in it the only entries that could relate to Shakspere's land and New Place were "a Rent at Stratford-upon-Avon iiij.*li.*," and "old goods and Lumber at Stratford-upon-Avon, at iiij.*li.*" When the calendar of these Inventories is made, Lady Barnard's will no doubt turn up.

At the conclusion of this chapter is printed the text of Shakspere's will itself, and the reduced facsimiles which follow give some idea of its appearance to the reader nowadays.

Over Shakspere's grave in the chancel of Stratford Church is a dark flat tombstone, with this inscription,

which Dowdall says was "made by himselfe a little before his death":—

> "Good frend, for Jesus sake forbeare
> To digg the dvst encloased heare:
> Bleste be ye man yt spares thes stones,
> And cvrst be he yt moves my bones."

On the left or north wall of the chancel, against the blockt-up bottom of the second window from the communion-table, is the monument to Shakspere, containing the celebrated Stratford life-size bust, evidently cut from a death-mask,[1] and said by Dugdale (*Life, Diary*, p. 99), to have been "made by one Gerard Johnson," a well-known sculptor.[2]

This bust and the Droeshout engraving in the first Folio, probably from a now lost Droeshout painting, are the only authentic representations of Shakspere, tho' the oil portrait in the Stratford Memorial Library is no doubt an early copy of the lost Droeshout original, or painted from the engraving, with slight variations. I don't believe that the sketch of the

[1] "We may mention—on the authority of Mr. Butcher, the very courteous clerk of Stratford Church, who saw the examination made—that two years ago Mr. Story, the great American sculptor, when at Stratford, made a very careful examination of Shakspere's bust from a raised scaffolding, and came to the conclusion that the face of the bust was modelled from a death-mask. The lower part of the face was very death-like; the upper lip was elongated and drawn up from the lower one by the shrinking of the nostrils, the first part of the face to 'go' after death; the eyebrows were neither of the same length nor on the same level; the depth from the eye to the ear was extraordinary; the cheeks were of different shapes, the left one being the more prominent at top. On the whole, Mr. Story felt certain of the bust being made from a death-mask."—F. J. F., in *The Academy*, August 22, 1874, p. 205, col. 3. Mr. Woolner has since told me that he too has examind the bust, and is also convinced that it was made from a death-mask. Chantrey, the sculptor, and Haydon, the painter, &c., had before exprest the same opinion. But, says Mr. Spedding, the death-mask was made to represent a live face, by sticking a pair of almond-shaped raisd lines on the top of the eyelids—to represent open eyes—and laying clay enough upon the upper lip to allow of the dead mouth being made to smile.

[2] Mr. Halliwell supposes that Johnson didn't work so late as 1616, but that one of his sons may have cut the bust.

Stratford bust in Dugdale's *Warwickshire* is authoritative. But see Mrs. Stopes's paper on it in the extinct *Monthly Review*. The Chandos, Felton, and other portraits,[1] and the Kesselstadt death-mask—fine though it is—have no real evidence whatever in their favour. The bust was originally colourd, but Malone stupidly had it all painted white.[2] It has, however, since been repainted in the original colours: eyes light hazel, hair and beard auburn, cheeks ruddy, sleevd doublet scarlet, sleeveless gown black, neckband and wristbands white; upper part of the cushion, under the hands, green; under half, crimson; edge-cord and tassels, gilt. The left hand rests on a piece of white paper; the right holds a pen and rests on the cushion. The expression of the face is stolid and staring.[3] Below the bust is the nscription following:—

"Ivdicio Pylium, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,
Terra tegit, popvlvs mœret, Olympvs habet."

"Stay, passenger, why goest thov by so fast?
Read, if thov canst, whom enviovs Death hath plast
Within this monvment, Shakspeare, with whome
Quick natvre dide; whose name doth deck ys tombe
Far more than cost; sich[4] all yt he hath writt
Leaves living art bvt page to serve his witt.
Obiit Anº Doi 1616,
Ætatis 53, die 23 Apr."

We must recollect that "23 April" then was the same day that we call the 3rd of May now. As John

[1] The beery, loose-looking picture in the so-called Birthplace is a special abomination to me.

[2] These lines have been written on this intense piece of ill taste (*Neil*, p. 66):—

"Stranger to whom this monument is shown,
Invoke the Poet's curse upon Malone,
Whose meddling zeal his barbarous taste displays,
And daubs his tombstone, as he mars his plays."

[3] The best view of it is the side one from behind, as seen in the frontispiece to this volume.

[4] For *sith*, since; ys = this; yt = that.

J. Bond says in his *Handy Book*, 1866, p. xxvii.: "Some writers have supposed that both Cervantes and Shakspeare died on the same day, whereas the fact is, that there was ten days' difference between the dates of the death of the one and the other. Michael de Cervantes Saavedra, the author of *Don Quixote*, died on the 23rd of April, 1616, at Madrid, on *Saturday*, according to the New Style of writing dates in use at that time in Spain, which style had been adopted there as early as the year 1582. (Year Letters C.B., 1616, New Style, 23rd of April, 1616, Saturday.) And William Shakspeare died on the 23rd of April, 1616, at Stratford-on-Avon, on *Tuesday*, according to the Old Style of writing dates at that time in use in England, the New Style not having been adopted in England at that time, and not until the year 1752. (Year Letters G.F., 1616, Old Style, 23rd of April, 1616, Tuesday.)

Saturday, 23rd of April, 1616, New Style, corresponded with Saturday, 13th of April, 1616, Old Style.

Tuesday, 23rd of April, 1616, Old Style, corresponded with Tuesday, 3rd of May, 1616, New Style.

Hence it is shown that Cervantes died ten days before Shakspeare." And don't let us forget that on this Tuesday, April 23, Old Style, or May 3, New, the great Oliver Cromwell enterd himself as a student at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

Shakspere's wife died on August 6, 1623, being sixty-seven years old. His eldest daughter, Susanna Hall, died July 11, 1649, aged sixty-six (having survived her husband, John Hall, who died November 25, 1635, aged sixty). His granddaughter, Elizabeth Hall, married first Thomas Nashe, on April 22, 1626, and after his death on April 4, 1647—namely, June 5, 1649—a widower, John Barnard, of Abington, Northamptonshire, who was knighted in 1661; but she had no child by either husband and she died at Abington, and was buried there on February 17, 1669-70. The three tombstones of Shakspere's wife, daughter Susanna, and her husband, Dr.

John Hall, lie by his in the chancel of Stratford Church On Mrs. Hall's is the following epitaph, which shows that the daughter had both the father's wit and tender heart:—

"Witty above her sexe, but that's not all,
Wise to salvation was good Mistress Hall:
Something of Shakespeare was in that; but this,
Wholy of him with whom she's now in blisse.
Then, passenger, hast ne'er a tear
To weepe with her that wept with all;
But wept, yet set herselfe to chere
Them up with comforts cordiall?
Her love shall live, her mercy spread,
When thou hast ne'er a tear to shed."

Shakspere's younger daughter, Judith Quiney, was buried at Stratford on February 9, 1661-2, having survived her three sons—Shakespeare, baptised November 23, 1616, buried May 8, 1617; Richard, baptised February 9, 1617-8, buried February 26, 1638-9; Thomas, baptised January 23, 1619-20, buried January 28, 1638-9. No entry of the burial of her husband Thomas Quiney is in the Stratford register. Shakspere's sister Joan Hart was buried at Stratford on November 4, 1646. To Joan's grandson, Thomas Hart, Lady Barnard—who, with her mother and first husband, had barrd the entail under Shakspere's will—left the Henley Street or Birthplace houses; and these houses were sold in 1847, by descendants of the Harts, to trustees for the nation. New Place was sold, after Sir John Barnard's death, to Sir Edward Walker. His only child, Barbara, married Sir John Clopton, and she brought New Place back into the family of its old possessors. About 1720, Sir Hugh Clopton pulled down New Place, and built a new house, probably more or less on the old foundations. His son-in-law and executor, Henry Talbot, sold the property to the Rev. Francis Gastrell, vicar of Frodsham, Cheshire; and this confcunded man not only cut down in 1756 the so-calld "Shakspere's mulberry tree" in the garden, because folks wanting to see it botherd him, but also in 1759 pulld down Sir H. Clopton's fresh "New Place." On the property coming

into the market in 1862, Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillips got up a subscription and bought it, afterwards added to it the site of the theatre built on part of the old garden, and other grounds adjacent, laid bare the foundations of the house, put the whole place into nice order, and in 1876 handed it over to the Corporation of Stratford for the use of the public, subject to visitors paying a small fee, as at the Birthplace. The gratitude of every lover of Shakspere is due to the late Mr. Halliwell-Phillips—however little they may think of his critical power—not only for his exertions to secure New Place for the nation, but also for his long searches into the records of Shakspere's life, and for never having forged a document or an emendation, though unluckily he reprinted other folk's forgeries, and at first declared them genuine. As he said, such mistakes as he's made, were at least honest ones.

In conclusion, let me say, that the London-achievd greatness of this Shakspere is not to be understood without some knowledge of the little country-town where he first lookt out on the world. Go to Stratford-on-Avon, and see the town where Shakspere was born, and bred, and died; the country over which he wanderd and playd when a boy, whose beauties and whose lore, as a man, he put into his plays. Go either in spring, in April, "when the greatest poet was born in Nature's sweetest time," and let Mr. Wise (*Shakespeare: his Birthplace and its Neighbourhood*, pp. 44, 58, &c.) tell you how "everything is full of beauty" that you'll see; or go in full summer, as I did one Saturday afternoon in July, 1874. See first the little low room where tradition says Shakspere was born, though his father did not buy the house till eleven years after his birth;[1] look at the foundation of "New Place," walk on the site of Shakspere's house, in the garden whose soil he must often have trod, thinking of his boyhood and hasty marriage;

[1] He *may* have rented it before; but I expect that the former house, in Henley Street, in which John Shakspere dwelt, would have a better claim to be "the Birthplace," if it were now known.

of London, with its trials and triumphs, and the wonders he had created for its delight; follow his body, past the school where he learnt, to its grave in the Avon-side church ringd with elms; see the worn slab that covers his bones, with wife's and daughter's beside; look up at the bust which figures the case of the brain and heart that have so enricht the world, which shows you more truly than anything else what Shakspere was like in the flesh; try to see in those hazel eyes, those death-drawn lips, those ruddy cheeks, the light, the merriment, the tenderness, the wisdom, and love that once were theirs; walk by the full and quiet Avon's side, where the swan sails gently, by which the cattle feed; ask yourself what word sums up your feelings on these scenes;—and answer, with me, "Peace!"

Next morning, walk up the Welcombe Road, across the old common lands whose enclosing Shakspere said he "was not able to bear": when up Rowley Bank, turn round; see the town nestle under its circling hills, shut in on the left by its green wall of trees. The corn is golden beside you. Meon Hill meets the sky in your front; its shoulder slants sharply to the spire of the church where Shakspere's dust lies: away on the right is Broadway, lit with the sun; below it, the ridge of Roomer Hill, yellow for harvest, on the right, passes leftwards into a dark belt of trees to the church, their hollows filld with blue haze. In this nest is Shakspere's town. After gazing your fill on the fair scene before you, walk to the boat-place, paddle out for the best view of the elm-framed church, then by its river-borderd side to the stream below; get a beautiful view of the tower through a vista of trees beyond the low water-fall; then pass by cattle, half-knee deep in the shallows, sluggishly whisking their tails, happily chewing the cud; go under Wier-Brake Bank, whose trees droop down to the river, whose wood-pigeons greet you with coos; past many groups of grey willows, with showers of wild roses between: feathery reeds rise beside you, birds twitter about, the sky is blue overhead, your

boat glides smoothly down stream: you feel the sweet content with which Shakspere must have lookt on the scene. Later, you wander to Shottery, to Anne Hathaway's cottage, where perchance in hot youth the poet made love. Then you ride through Charlecote's tall-elmd park, and see the deer whose ancestors he may have stolen; on to Warwick, with its castle rising grandly from Avon bank; back to Stratford, with a glorious view from the hill, on your left in your homeward ride.[1] Evening comes: you stroll again by the riverside, through groups of townsfolk pleasant to see, in well-to-do Sunday dress. From Cross-o'-th'-Hill you look at the fine view of church and town, backt by the Welcombe Hills; through Wier Brake[2] and ripe corn, you walk to the bridge that brings you to the opposite level bank of the stream. Then you lie down, chatting of Shakspere to your friend, while lovers in pairs pass lingering by, and the twilight comes. Then again you say that the peace of the place was fit for Shakspere's end, and that the memory of its quiet beauty will never away from your mind.

Yes, Stratford will help you to understand Shakspere.

Shakspere's Will

IN THE PROBATE REGISTRY, SOMERSET HOUSE, LONDON[3]

Vicesimo quinto die [Januarii] *Martii*, anno regni domini nostri Jacobi, nunc regis Angliæ, &c., decimo quarto, et Scotiæ xlix°, annoque Domini 1616.

T. WMI SHACKSPEARE.

[1] If you can, get on to ruind Kenilworth, where Shakspere may have seen Leicester's pageants before Elizabeth, in 1575 (*see* my edition of *Captain Cox*, Ballad Society), to use in *Midsummer-Night's Dream*. Heaven forbid that he should have turnd the great mason Captain into Bottom!

[2] The young Stratford folk call their Sunday-evening stroll through this wooded bank, "Going to chapel." That their devotions interested the attendants, I can say.

[3] The words which have been erased are put between brackets; those which have been interlined are printed in italics.

TEXT OF SHAKSPERE'S WILL

In the name of God, Amen! I William Shackspeare, of Stratford upon Avon in the countie of Warr., gent., in perfect health and memorie, God be praysed, doe make and ordayne this my last will and testament in manner and forme followeing, that ys to saye, ffirst, I comend my soule into the handes of God my Creator, hoping and assuredlie beleeving, through thonelie merites, of Jesus Christe my Saviour, to be made partaker of lyfe everlastinge, and my bodye to the earth whereof yt ys made. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my [sonne and] daughter Judyth one hundred and fyftie poundes of lawfull English money, to be paied unto her in the manner and forme foloweing, that is to saye, one hundred poundes *in discharge of her marriage porcion* within one yeare after my deceas, with consideracion after the rate of twoe shillinges in the pound for soe long tyme as the same shalbe unpaied unto her after my deceas, and the fyftie poundes residwe thereof upon her surrendring *of*, or gyving of such sufficient securitie as the overseers of this my will shall like of, to surrender or graunte all her estate and right that shall discend or come unto her after my deceas, or *that shee* nowe hath, of, in, or to, one copiehold tenemente, with thappurtenaunces, lyeing and being in Stratford upon Avon aforesaied in the saied countye of Warr., being parcell or holden of the mannour of Rowington, unto my daughter Susanna Hall and her heires for ever. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my saied daughter Judith one hundred and fyftie poundes more, if shee or anie issue of her bodie be lyvinge att thend of three yeares next ensueing the daie of the date of this my will, during which tyme my executours are to paie her consideracion from my deceas according to the rate aforesaied; and if she dye within the saied tearme without issue of her bodye, then my will ys, and I doe gyve and bequeath one hundred poundes thereof to my neece Elizabeth Hall, and the fiftie poundes to be sett fourth by my executours during the lief of my sister Johane Harte, and the use and proffitt thereof cominge

shalbe paied to my saied sister Jone, and after her deceas the saied l.li. shall remaine amongst the children of my saied sister, equallie to be divided amongst them; but if my saied daughter Judith be lyving att thend of the saied three yeares, or anie yssue of her bodye, then my will ys, and soe I devise and bequeath the saied hundred and fyftie poundes to be sett out *by my executours and overseers* for the best benefitt of her and her issue, and *the stock* not *to be* paied unto her soe long as she shalbe marryed and covert baron [by my executours and overseers]; but my will ys, that she shall have the consideracion yearelie paied unto her during her lief, and, after her deceas, the saied stocke and consideracion to bee paied to her children, if she have anie, and if not, to her executours or assignes, she lyving the saide terme after my deceas, Provided that yf suche husbond as she shall att thend of the saied three yeares be marryed unto, or att anie after (*sic*), doe sufficientlie assure unto her and thissue of her bodie landes awnswereable to the porcion by this my will gyven unto her, and to be adjudged soe by my executours and overseers, then my will ys, that the said cl.li. shalbe paied to such husbond as shall make such assurance, to his owne use. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my saied sister Jone xx.li. and all my wearing apparrell, to be paied and delivered within one yeare after my deceas; and I doe will and devise unto her *the house* with thappurtenaunces in Stratford, wherein she dwelleth, for her naturall lief, under the yearlie rent of xij.d. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto her three sonnes, William Harte, - - - - Hart, and Michaell Harte, fyve pounds a peece, to be paied within one yeare after my deceas [to be sett out for her within one yeare after my deceas by my executours, with thadvise and direccions of my overseers, for her best profitt, untill her mariage, and then the same with the increase thereof to be paied unto her]. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto [her] *the saied Elizabeth Hall*, all my plate, *except my brod silver and gilt bole*, that I now have att the date of this my will. Item, I

gyve and bequeath unto the poore of Stratford aforesaied tenn poundes; to Mr. Thomas Combe my sword; to Thomas Russell esquier fyve poundes; and to Frauncis Collins, of the borough of Warr. in the countie of Warr. gentleman, thirteene poundes, sixe shillinges, 'and eight pence, to be paied within one yeare after my deceas. Item, I gyve and bequeath to [Mr. Richard Tyler thelder] *Hamlett Sadler* xxvj.$^{s.}$ viij.$^{d.}$ to buy him a ringe; *to William Raynoldes, gent., xxvj.$^{s.}$ viij.$^{d.}$ to buy him a ringe;* to my godson William Walker xx$^{s.}$ in gold; to Anthonye Nashe, gent., xxvj.$^{s.}$ viij.$^{d.}$; and to Mr. John Nashe xxvj.$^{s.}$ *viij.$^{d.}$* [in gold]; *and to my fellowes John Hemynges, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell, xxvj.$^{s.}$ viij.$^{d.}$ a peece to buy them ringes.* Item, I gyve, will, bequeath, and devise, unto my daughter Susanna Hall, *for better enabling of her to performe this my will, and towards the performans thereof,* all that capitall messuage or tenemente with thappurtenaunces, *in Stratford aforesaid,* called the New Place, wherein I nowe dwell, and two messuages or tenementes with thappurtenaunces, scituat, lyeing, and being in Henley streete, within the borough of Stratford aforesaied; and all my barnes, stables, orchardes, gardens, landes, tenementes, and hereditamentes whatsoever, scituat, lyeing, and being, or to be had, receyved, perceyved, or taken, within the townes, hamletes, villages, fieldes, and groundes, of Stratford upon Avon, Oldstratford, Bushopton, and Welcombe, or in anie of them in the saied countie of Warr. And alsoe all that messuage or tenemente with thappurtenaunces, wherein one John Robinson dwelleth, scituat, lyeing and being, in the Blackfriers in London, nere the Wardrobe; and all my other landes, tenementes, and hereditamentes whatsoever, To have and to hold all and singuler the saied premisses, with theire appurtenaunces, unto the saied Susanna Hall, for and during the terme of her naturall lief, and after her deceas, to the first sonne of her bodie lawfullie yssueing, and to the heires males

of the bodie of the saied first sonne lawfullie yssueinge; and for defalt of such issue, to the second sonne of her bodie lawfullie issueinge, and to the heires males of the bodie of the saied second sonne lawfullie yssueinge; and for defalt of such heires, to the third sonne of the bodie of the saied Susanna lawfullie yssueing, and of the heires males of the bodie of the saied third sonne lawfullie yssueing; and for defalt of such issue, the same soe to be and remainet o the ffourth [sonne], ffyfth, sixte, and seaventh sonnes of her bodie lawfullie issueing, one after another, and to the heires males of the bodies of the saied fourth, fifth, sixte, and seaventh sonnes lawfullie yssueing, in such manner as yt ys before lymitted to be and remaine to the first, second, and third sonns of her bodie, and to theire heires males; and for defalt of such issue, the said premisses to be and remaine to my sayed neece Hall, and the heires males of her bodie lawfullie issueing; and for defalt of such issue, to my daughter Judith, and the heires males of her bodie lawfullie issueinge; and for defalt of such issue, to the right heires of me the saied William Shackspeare for ever. *Item, I gyve unto my wief my second best bed with the furnitvre.* Item, I gyve and bequeath to my saied daughter Judith my broad silver gilt bole. All the rest of my goodes, chattel, leases, plate, jewels, and household stuffe whatsoever, after my dettes and legasies paied, and my funerall expenses dischardged, I give, devise, and bequeath to my sonne in lawe, John Hall gent., and my daughter Susanna, his wief, whom I ordaine and make executours of this my last will and testament. And I doe intreat and appoint *the saied* Thomass Russell esquier and Frauncis Collins gent. to be overseers hereof, and doe revoke all former wills, and publishe this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my [seale] *hand*, the daie and yeare first abovewritten.

By me WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

Witnes to the publyshing hereof,

FRA: COLLYNS,
JULYUS SHAWE,
JOHN ROBINSON,
HAMNET SADLER,
ROBERT WHATTCOTT.

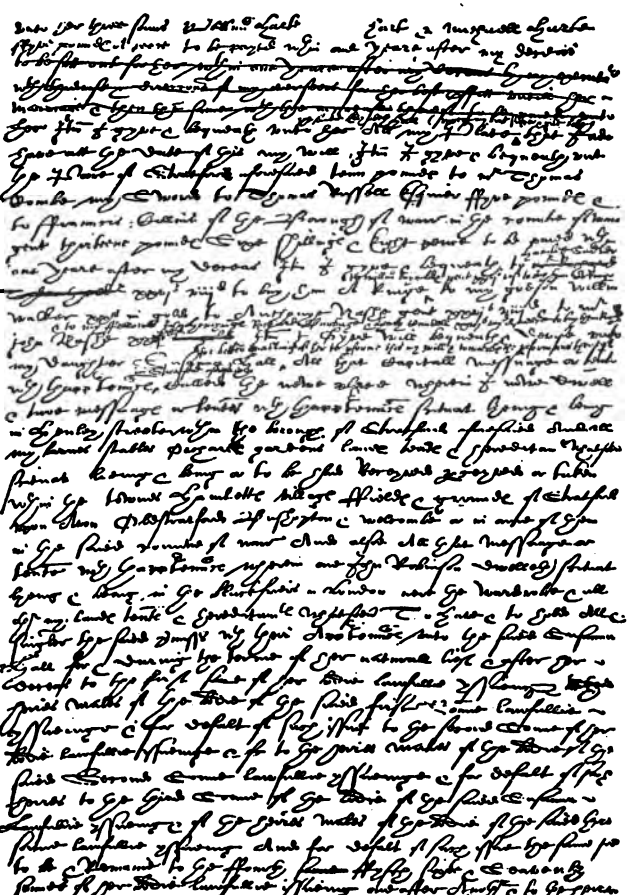
Probatum coram magistro Willielmo Byrde, legum doctore comiss. &c. xxij$^{do.}$ die mensis Junii, anno Domini 1616, juramento Johannis Hall, unius executorum, &c. cui &c. de bene &c. jurat. reservat. potestate &c. Susannæ Hall, alteri executorum &c. cum venerit petitur. &c. (Inv. ex.)

FACSIMILE OF SHAKSPERE'S WILL

[PAGE 1.]

FACSIMILE OF SHAKSPERE'S WILL

[PAGE 2]



FACSIMILE OF SHAKSPERE'S WILL

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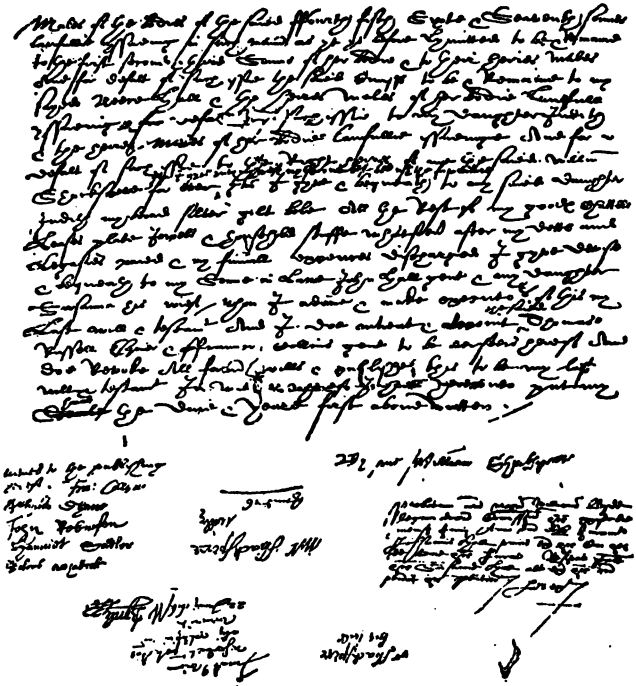


CHAPTER TWELVE

ENGLISH DRAMA BEFORE SHAKSPERE

IT was happy for Elizabethan drama that it was not entirely the direct descendant of classical models. The limitations which choruses, the acceptance of classical form, and the implicit observance of dramatic unities would have entaild, would have been a severe hindrance to that development towards freedom in the composition of plays which is to be seen in the works of the Elizabethans, and particularly of Shakspere. In the earlier middle ages knowledge of the classical drama seems to have become almost universally extinct: the orgiastic excesses of Rome in the days of its debasement alienated the Christian mind from all public spectacles and theatrical displays; and tho', later on, there are rare evidences here and there that antiquity was not quite forgotten in this respect, the profest unsecular attitude of the leaders of the church and the possession of literacy only by those thus predisposed against the drama, precluded any possibility whatever of a general revival of theatrical shows. As ecclesiastical authority grew in power during the first four centuries its influence began to be felt on legislation, and the result was that greater restrictions were placed on plays and on players: yet, tho' the church authorities practically triumpht in the end, there are signs that their flocks still, till a late date, lovd and frequented the *spectacula*.[1] Apparently the universal mimetic instinct was difficult to crush, and, tho' father after father thunderd his denunciations against the theatre and the circus, the shows still went on till the 7th or 8th century when the Roman theatre

[1] *The Mediæval Stage*, E. K. Chambers, 1903, I., pp. 13-15.

fell into decay. The *scenici*, thus cast adrift, took part in the more or less public pantomimic shows, just as much denounced as the theatre, and finally, not a little debased by the coarser tastes of their Teutonic masters, helpt to swell the army of nomadic entertainers which figure so prominently in medieval life.[1] But while the attitude of the medieval church was not such that it could favor or help in dramatic productions, it was developing in its own ritualistic displays the beginnings of a new theatrical cycle, and thus, as in Greece where the drama evolvd from the ritualistic mummeries of Dionysus,[2] and in India,[3] the popular religion was to be greatly responsible for the revival of dramatic art and interest. The services of the church had always been more or less mimetic, particularly at Easter, and Christmas afforded an opportunity for bringing home to the unletterd, by means of effigies, and living people in costume, the story of the birth in the manger, the adoration of the shepherds, &c. Pollard points out that the beginning of the Easter play was the solemn burial of the crucifix in the sepulchre on Good Friday, and its disinterment on Easter Day with a pompous ritual.[4] It is easy to see how this principle of representation of Biblical story to the illiterate, to whom the ponderous Latinity of the church was unintelligible, had necessarily

[1] Chambers, i. pp. 23-25.

[2] *The Greek Drama*, Lionel Barnett, 1898, p. 4, *seq.*

[3] *Sakuntala*, ed. T. Holme, p. xv.

[4] Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*, 1898, p. xiv. The sepulchres in medieval churches were often gorgeous. That at St. Mary-at-Hill was a wooden chest surmounted by a frame A lamp was hung above, and the sepulchre was also illumind by tapers. There were four angels on it; and its cloth was of linen and dyed stuff. The chest would ordinarily contain the holy sacrament at Easter,—evidently a representation, like the burial of the crucifix, of the interment of Christ; but it seems probable that some such ceremony as the actual placing of the crucifix in the sepulchre took place at St. Mary's, for, apart from the significance of the angels mentiond above, it was customary every year during Eastertide to 'watch' the sepulchre, like the biblical 'watching' of the actual tomb: 'paid [for] brede, mete & drynk, & for wachyng of the sepulcre, good fryday till Eastur day.'—*Med. Rcc.*, p. 292

to develop and command expression in the vernacular, —firstly, because of the interest it evoked in the people,[1] who lovd shows of any kind, and secondly, because it helpt them—denied as the Bible itself was to them—to realise the force and setting of the Scriptural stories. Some such attempts as this were made in monkish poetry, as in the *Cursor Mundi* of the fourteenth century, a colossal poem of nearly 24,000 lines, which reviews the course of the world thru its seven ages (a plan more or less followd by the subsequent *Towneley Plays*), and was written in English, as the author tells, for the love of Englishmen, and that the 'comune folk of engelonde' might understand the beginning and end of the world.[2] Such books as these, however, appeald only to a class who possest leisure and skill to read: outside of this comparatively small circle remaind the untutord masses of the people. To these, scenic representation specially appeald, and for their sakes, principally, the church indulged in the early Scriptural play, which developt from the devotional enactment of the story coverd by the liturgy.

From the earliest times the ceremony of Mass was more or less mimetic; and not this ceremony only, but many others in the services of the church possest what Chambers has calld 'the potentiality of dramatic development.'[3] The first step in this development was the supplementing of tunes in the liturgy, and the subsequent addition of texts or tropes for the supplements. Some of these tropes assumed a dialog form. Most important was the *Quem Quæritis*, at first only an introit

[1] This interest in the display of the clergy is shown most clearly in the Eastern Church at Byzantium in the middle of the ninth century, when Michael III. organised public caricatures of the orthodox ceremenies, and burlesqued the religious processions, and the people enjoyd it.—*See* Finlay's description, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 160-1 (Everyman's Library). The theatre in Constantinople had firm hold and long remaind unshaken. It was not till the Saracen invasion that it declined (Chambers i. p. 17).

[2] Ed. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1874-93.

[3] *Mediæval Stage*, ii. 6.

trope at Easter, but later a dialogd chant for the acting of the resurrection of Christ and the visiting of the sepulchre. On Good Friday the cross was placed before the altar and adored by the abbot and monks; it was wrapt in a cerecloth, carried to a 'sepulchre' made for the occasion, either at the altar or elsewhere, and there deposited while the choir sung anthems. On Easter-day the corresponding voiding of the sepulchre took place.[1]

The additions to the original tropes were at first made only from the old stock of Easter anthems, but later, proses and metrical hymns were added. Dramatic advance was made thru the visit of the Maries to the sepulchre: they lifted the pall, discoverd the empty tomb and displayd the cerements. In this place the text of the *Quem Quæritis* was expanded by the addition of the *Victimæ Paschali* (second quarter of the eleventh century): then two singers accompanied the Maries; these were Peter and John, who displayd the grave-clothes. In its simplest form the *Quem Quæritis* consists only of the dialog between the Maries, an angel and the choir; in the next form the Apostles are added; in the last the figure of the risen Christ himself is shown (earliest form, twelfth century). The later incident (fourteenth century) of the Maries purchasing spices from an *unguentarius* may be due to the influence of the vernacular stage. All this liturgical drama was capable of elaborate scenic effect: the performers might wear most splendid vestments and the rest of the properties were part of the furniture of the church. None of the action ever became actually detacht from the service.[2]

Besides the *Quem Quæritis* at Easter there was establisht by the twelfth century the *Peregrini* in which was enacted the journey to Emmaus and the

[1] *Mediæval Stage*, pp. 7–19. The sepulchre might be in any form, from the primitive cavity formed by piling service-books on the altar, to an elaborate chapel specially built. (*See* Chambers, ii. 22.)

[2] Chambers, ii. 29–35.

supper. Sometimes the disciples were joind by the Magdalen; in others the Maries greeted the risen Christ, tho' this was probably after his introduction into the *Quem Quæritis*. All these plays are concernd solely with the Resurrection; the mere representation of the Passion itself began in the *planctus* of the Maries and St. John round the cross, which exist both in Latin and the vernacular. The earliest type is of the twelfth century. Christ sometimes joins in the dialog; and from this point was developt the drama of the Passion, which progrest mainly outside the walls of the church.[1]

As important to the Christian as Easter, was Christmas when the Christ was born. The Christmas trope was based on the older Easter dialog: instead of the *Quem quæritis in sepulchro, o Christocolæ?* we have the *Quem quæritis in præsepe, pastores, dicite?* The *Officium Pastorum*, or Shepherds' Office, seems to have developt from the *Quem quæritis in præsepe*, as the Easter drama from the *Quem quæritis in sepulchro*. A *præsepe*, or crib, was made behind the altar, and in it was placed the image of the Virgin. After *Te Deum*, five canons, as the shepherds, approacht the west door of the choir, while a boy robed like an angel sang of the 'good tidings.' The 'shepherds' approacht the crib, and *Quem Quæritis* was begun. The dialog was expanded by hymns. The *Officium Pastorum* was known in England by the twelfth century.[2]

A third drama belonging to the Epiphany was the *Stella* or *Tres Reges*. Chambers says that 'the kernel of the whole performance is a dramatised *Offertorium*. It was a custom for Christian kings to offer gold and frankincense and myrrh at the altar on Epiphany-day; and I take the play to have served as a substitute for this ceremony, where no king actually regnant was present.'[3] In the *Stella* three kings enterd the door of the choir, singing a *prosula;* they showd their gifts, beheld the star, and advanced to the altar. A boy

[1] Chambers, ii. 37-40. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 41-44. [3] *Ibid.*, ii. 52.

announced the birth of Christ, and they retired singing to the sacristy. Dramatic advance was made when the visit to Jerusalem was acted instead of being sung. In the Nevers version Herod himself appeard; in the Laon version the massacre of the innocents and the lamentations of Rachel[1] were developt; at Freisig and Fleury further additions were made in the flight into Egypt and the deposing of Herod, while the *Pastores*, *Stella* and *Rachel* coalesced into one. The textual development of the *Stella* was similar to that of the *Quem Quæritis*.[2]

The most important play of all was the Christmas play of the *Prophetæ*, requiring more performers than any of the previous plays, being more epical in its composition, and originating, not in a chant, but in a *lectio* read for a Christmas lesson, the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo contra Iudaeos, Paganos et Arianos, de Symbolo*, probably of the sixth century, and ascribed to the Bishop of Hippo. This sermon was highly rhetorical, and its dramatic form led perhaps to its distribution between several voices. In an eleventh century version of Limoges it is in dramatic dialog. The Rouen version adds many prophets, which led to the introduction of the story of Balaam, and of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. The *Prophetæ* was probably acted at Christmas, tho' the day differd in different places.[3]

It will be seen that the Liturgical Drama, proper, already coverd a considerable portion of the Scriptural story, and that, tho' the influence of the secular stage and the Feast of Fools seems to be shown in later versions, the ecclesiastical drama was a spontaneous growth within the church itself, centering round Easter and Christmas. It seems natural to suppose that, with these excellent models before them, desirous to teach the people, and cognisant of their love of shows, the clerics would tend to extend the drama beyond the subjects already treated; and this is what appears to have

[1] *Matthew*, ii. 18. [2] Chambers, ii. 46–52. [3] *Ibid.*, ii. 52–56.

happend. The early plays of which we have record seem to have been composed thru the influence of the Liturgical Drama.

Early as the records of Mysteries (as plays founded on Biblical story were termd) go back, we have no record of them in England before the Conquest. About the year 1110, a certain Norman, Geffrei, was brought over to conduct the abbey school of St. Albans. At first, however, he settled at Dunstable, where, according to Matthew Paris,[1] he composed the miracle play of St. Katherine, and borrowd copes for apparelling his players (probably choristers) from the sacristy of St. Albans. The play is lost; a fire broke out the night after its representation, and the borrowd copes were burnt. Geffrei doubtless wrote in his orthodox Latin, tho' snatches of Norman-French may have been intersperst,[2] as in the latter productions of Hilarius. This Hilarius, a *scholaris vagans* who was, possibly, an Englishman, and who was a pupil of Abelard, has left us three plays of the early part of the twelfth century—one on *St. Nicholas*, and another on the *Sustatio Lazarus*, both in Latin with French stanzas; and a third on *Daniel*, all in Latin, composed in collaboration with two other writers.

In this transition time, other plays, the *Sponsus of Limoges* and the German play of the Anointing of the Feet of Christ, contain refrains in the vernacular. The introduction of such refrains as these was probably the beginning of the composition of whole plays in the popular speech.[3] Such plays, however, must long have remaind in clerical hands, even in the arrangement of the actors, and longer still in the composition of the

[1] Apud Dunestapliam—quendam ludum de sancta Katerina (quem *Miracula* vulgariter appellamus) fecit. Ad quæ decoranda, petiit a sacrista sancti Albani, ut sibi capæ chorales accommodarentur, et obtinuit.—*Mat. Paris*, fol. 1639, p. 56. Quoted Malone, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare*, &c., 1821, iii. p. 9.

[2] Ten Brink's suggestion: *History of English Literature*, English ed., 1893, ii. p. 238.

[3] Ten Brink ii 238-9; Pollard, xviii.; Chambers, ii. 57.

text. As early as 1180, or thereabout, Fitzstephen[1] tells us that religious plays were common in London. Speaking of Rome and London, and comparing them, he says: 'For theatrical shows, for scenic plays, London has more holy spectacles, representations of the miracles performd by the sacred confessors, or of the sufferings thru which is declared the constancy of the martyrs.' It is hardly possible that these plays could have been written in anything but the Anglo-Norman tongue.[2]

Mysteries, as we have seen, were first of all acted inside the body of the church. The evolution of such plays was complete by the middle of the thirteenth century. A period of transition had set in by then, in which the liturgical drama, tho' still occupied with sacred subjects, was coming under secular influences and becoming more human in its appeal. This secularisation, as it is calld, was due greatly to the prosperity of the gilds, the participation of laymen in the plays, and the shifting of the stage from the church itself to the green, the gildhall and the market-place. The process of linking up the plays associated with Christmas and Easter had set in. The beginning of this movement was the growth or budding-out of the plays themselves, so as to take in associated parts of the Scriptural story. In this transitional period the Christmas play came to be an extended version of the *Prophetæ*, reaching back to the drama of the Fall, and at the end absorbing the *Stella*.[3] The coalescence of the *Prophetæ* and the *Stella* was a great step towards the cyclic drama of the future. It linkt up prophecy and fulfilment. It showd the Divine guidance in Scriptural history, the Fall, the promise of redemption and the beginning of its accomplishment.[4] The transitional Norman-French *Ordo repraesentationis Adæ* of the twelfth or thirteenth century is an extension

[1] First noticed by Stowe in his *Survay*. The passage is from Fitzstephen's *Descriptio Nobilissimæ Civitatis Lundoniæ*, a part of his *Vita Sancti Thomæ*, and is quoted by Malone, p. 9, and Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*, 1898, p. xix.

[2] Ten Brink, ii. 239. [3] Chambers, ii. 69–73. [4] Ten Brink, ii. 246.

of the *Prophetæ*, beginning with the Fall, proceeding with Cain and Abel, and breaking off abruptly after Nebuchadnezzar.[1]

The accretions to the even more important Easter cycle are just as remarkable. After the Resurrection, which began in the *Quem quæritis*, was shown the famous *Harrowing of Hell*.[2] Tho' the liturgical drama proper cannot be said to have represented the Passion, it approacht the subject in the dialogd *Planctus Mariæ;* and side by side with the *Quem quæritis* there seems to have grown a Passion Play, which, from having greater importance, finally absorbd it.[3] The Benedictbeuern MS. does, however, treat of the Passion, its series beginning with the call of Peter and Andrew, and ending with the begging of the body by Joseph of Arimathæa. The genesis of this succession is shown in the *Planctus Mariæ*.[4] The extension of the cycle to Doomsday was not a difficult matter. Already those parts of the *Sponsus* (wise and foolish virgins) and the Antichrist play which dealt with the final days were available.[5]

In the Christmas and Easter cycles, then, was containd the framework of the complete Scriptural drama, beginning at Creation and ending at the Last Judgment. Properly speaking, the two cycles could no longer be separated. The Old and New Testament stories were correlative. The expulsion of Adam from Eden and his consignment to Hell, the sayings of the Prophets

[1] Chambers, ii. 71.

[2] The dialogd Middle-English poem on this subject was edited for the E.E.T.S. by Prof. Hulme, 1908. It has been thought to be a Mystery, but is now generally considerd a piece written for recitation, as the Prolog begins:

'Alle herkneth to me nou!
a strif woll y tellen ou,' &c. (Harleian MS.).

Prof. Hulme discusses the origin and development of the legend in his Introduction.

[3] Chambers, ii. 75.

[4] *Ibid.*, 75-6.

[5] *Ibid.;* Ten Brink, ii. 247. *The Antichrist Legend* from the German of W. Bossuet by A. H. Keane, 1896, gives the origin and development of the myth.

and their similar passage to the house of darkness, had their true significance in the story only when the triumphant Christ broke down Hell-gates and releast Adam and the Fathers.[1] So the linking-up of the cycles proceeded. Intermediary incidents were inserted, and the Scriptural drama of the world's history was practically complete.

With this extension of the cycles the church interior became an inadequate stage, and the performance left the church. Chambers thinks that the play had spread from the choir to the nave, while the people watcht from the side aisles. Action within the church left sometimes an influence on the arrangement of the *sedes* or *loca*. In the Anglo-Norman play of the Resurrection, enacted in the open air, the arrangement of the 13 *sedes* was such as fitted the great nave of a church.[2] This evident reminiscence of the church interior could not have been very general, or have existed very long, particularly when the plays became associated with the Corpus Christi procession.

In more progressive centres, where the plays lost quickly their liturgical character, the removal of the drama to places outside the church must have begun early. The association with the service was almost forgotten, and the pious mind might well have felt outraged if the antics of demons had been acted within the sacred walls of the edifice. The popularity of the institution and its progressive character tended to transfer it to a situation where it might have more scope. But it is characteristic of the drama, as Ten Brink has pointed out, that its various developments proceeded while the more conservative forms still went on.

The extension and expansion of the plays had still

[1] Chambers, ii. 74.

[2] See Chambers' plan, ii. 84, constructed from the Prolog, where the crucifix occupies its ordinary position, heaven is in the stairs up to the rood loft and hell in the stairs down to the crypt, Galilee at the porch at the west door, while the Maries, Disciples, &c., are at the pillars down the right side, and Pilate, Caiaphas, and Joseph at the pillars down the left. Emmaus stands in the middle.

more important effects than the relegation of the drama to secular spots. One day was too short in which to enact the whole cycle, and the number of performers necessary became too great for the players to be supplied solely from the ecclesiastical bodies. To meet these new difficulties the device was adopted of playing parts of the cycles on separate days, or in successive years, and laymen were introduced to assist the clerics. The devotional gilds acted in collaboration with the clergy with whom they were affiliated; but the secular gilds also participated to an increasing degree in the religious plays. The introduction of vernacular into the dialog and the gradual extinction of Latin are due to the introduction of the lay element. In this introduction of the common speech lay the chance of Elizabethan drama, for the plays ceast then to be cosmopolitan, became national and could develop on national lines.[1] The miracles paved the way for Renascence drama.

The inclemency of the Christmas weather was not favorable to the performance of plays at that time, and there was a general tendency to shift the performance more towards the summer when the days are long. Whitsuntide became a favourite date, but still more popular was Corpus Christi,[2] the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, when the whole population, lay and clerical, associated in festivities under the open sky, and when the leading feature was a great procession in which the Host was escorted by civic and ecclesiastical dignitaries and displayd at various stations throughout town. The gilds took a prominent part in the procession, and with this procession the plays became associated, being performd on 'pageants' on wheels, at the stations whereat stoppage was made.[3] Scaffolds, apparently, were often erected to enable the spectators to see.

[1] Chambers, ii. 87-91.

[2] Introduced by Urban IV., 1264, but not establisht till 1311.

[3] Chambers, ii. 94-6. *See* Archdeacon Rogers' account (sixteenth century) of the manner of wheeling these 'pageants' thru the town, quoted by Sharp in his *Coventry Pageants*, and again by Ordish, *Early London Theatres*, 1894, pp. 9-10, &c.

SECULAR INFLUENCE

The secularisation of the religious drama brought new influences to bear on it, and an element of comedy was early introduced in the ravings of Herod and Pilate, and the antics of the demons who belabord Cain and dragd their victims to Hell.[1] The life of the unconverted Magdalen with its worldly joys, and the incident of Balaam's ass, were dwelt on more; while in the second Shepherds' Play of the Towneley collection occurs our earliest English comedy, *The Sheep-stealing of Mak.* In the demon-antics may be seen the influence of the Folk-drama and of the Feast of Fools again, with its maskt and black-faced demon figures condemnd by the church.[2] And with these developments a section of the church became uneasy concerning the mimetic activities of its sons. The decree of Innocent III., subsequently included in the Gregorian Decretals, and apparently concerning only secular festivities such as the Feast of Fools, was held by some to forbid clerics to act in churches or mummings, and is so interpreted in the *Handlyng Synne* of Robert of Brunne (1303).[3]

[1] Herod and Pilate are frequently referd to in Elizabethan literature: their characters had become a tradition. Chaucer himself refers to them. Of the Miller, when he 'was dronke of ale,' Chaucer says—

> 'But in Pilátes voys he gan to crie,
> And swoor by armés, and by blood and oones.'
> (ll. 3124-5.)
>
> Absolon, 'that jolif was and gay,'
> 'He pleyeth Heródés, on a scaffold hye.'
> —*Miller's Tale*, 3384.

The merry Wife of Bath talks, too, of the 'pleyes of myracles.'

[2] Chambers, i. 327; ii. 91.

[3] *Ibid*, i., 99-100. Pollard, xxiv., refers the prohibition to Pope Gregory:

> 'Hyt ys forbode hym yn the decre
> Myráoles for to make or se;
> For mirácles, gyf thou bigynne,
> Hyt ys a gaderyng, a syght of synne.
> He may yn the cherche, thurgh thys resun,
> Pley the resurrecyun;
> That is to seye, how God ros,
> God and man yn myght and los,
> To make men be yn belevë gode,
> That he ros with flesshe and blode;

This means that, while it would be sin for the clergy to participate in the plays on 'ways or greaves,' they might act the birth and resurrection of Christ in the churches. Whatever solution the clergy themselves arrived at, the 'ways and greaves' performances went on. In 1244, Grosseteste attempted the suppression of the *miracula*, but while the more austere dissenters continued to inveigh against the plays, the church authorities themselves—reluctant, perhaps, to permit so powerful an institution to pass from their hands—continued to compromise and permit their indulgence.[1]

The ordinary type of English 'Miracle' was one section of a cycle, each portion of which was assignd to a separate craft-gild, and enacted on a 'pageant' wheeld to stations in the city streets, at each of which it was playd. This was due to asssociation with the Corpus Christi procession. Other plays like the *Ludus Coventriæ* and the Cornish Plays were meant for a stationary stage. Very often the gilds were given plays appropriate to their profession. 'Noah' was playd in different places by the shipwrights, watermen, fishers and mariners. The 'Magi' was playd by the Goldsmiths and Goldbeaters, the Flight into Egypt by the Horseshoers, the Turning of Water into Wine by the Vintners, the Temple Disputation by the Scriveners, the Last Supper by the Bakers, and the Harrowing of Hell by the Cooks.[2] The plays were generally conducted under the auspices of the corporation, who often kept the official text, settled disputes and generally supervised, and who even sometimes ownd the pageant

---

And he may pleye withoutyn plyght
How God was bore yn tholë nyght,
To make men to beleve stedfastly
That he lyght yn the vyrgyne Mary.
Gif thou do hyt in weyys or greuys,
A syght of synne truly hyt semys.'[3]

[1] Chambers, ii. 100-3.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 118; Pollard, xxxi.-v.; Ten Brink, ii. 248.

[3] Ed. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., 1901-3, 4638-4652, p. 155.

properties. Some of the corporation functions were discharged by deputies.

It was generally an obligation for craftsmen to assist the plays practically, either by attendance or acting. and financially, by the payment of pageant-pence. Even the 'gentlemen' assisted in places, and there are evidences that the clergy at times co-operated with the gilds, and that churches were repaird, and the public funds assisted, from the proceeds. The performers were paid for their labors. The poorer gilds often combined to produce one pageant, and in some cases the support of the miracle-play proved an intolerable burden to the poorer craftsmen.[1]

The poverty or increasing wealth of individual gilds, the admission of new gilds and the suppression of old, had a great effect on the text of the plays. None of the MSS. possess a homogeneous text. A continual process of expansion and contraction, curtailing and enlarging, went on. The arrival of a new gild meant splitting an old play into two, or the insertion of a new incident in the cycle; the poverty of a gild might mean its co-operation with others in a single play, or the absorption of its play by another. Different poets, with different ideas and treatment, composed and revised individual parts of the same cycle, and the resultant MSS. show every kind of contrasting metre and effect.

It was in the North of England, besides the East Midlands, that the miracle-drama flourisht most, and that thru the prosperity of the gilds. Thence come four cycles—the York Plays, the Towneley Plays, and the so-called *Ludus Coventriæ*, in MSS. of the 15th century; and the Chester Plays of late 16th or early 17th; but all of the plays are actually older. The framework of them all is still the same old liturgical elements —the *Prophetæ*, reaching backward to the Creation and forward to the *Stella;* the *Officium Pastorum*, giving the Shepherds' Play and the Birth in the manger; the *Planctus Mariæ*, giving the Passion; the *Quem quæritis*,

[1] Chambers, ii. 111-138.

giving the Resurrection; and the *Peregrini* following afterwards. The *Harrowing of Hell* helps to link up the first and last parts of the story, the Prophets with the Resurrection and Redemption; and the Last Judgment follows at the end. The intervening parts in the cycles are filld up, sometimes with similarity between different cycles, at other times with great differences.

By a tradition of the Towneley family, the Towneley Plays[1] are said to have belongd to the Abbey of Widkirk, near Wakefield, identified by Prof. Skeat with Woodkirk. Some of the plays are markt as acted by the Wakefield gilds. Many leaves are lost from the MS., and two of the plays at the end are out of their proper places. The alliterated portions are thought to be interpolations in the text, and five plays correspond to other older ones in the York cycle, and were probably borrowd from it. The language used is pointed and definite, with little elaboration. Rustic humour and freedom occur throughout. There is some horse-play, and rudeness, contrasted finely with perfect gentleness. The characters are often drawn direct from life with simple realism, and must specially have appeald to rustic people. The cycle contains 32 plays, but many are lost.

The most valuable text perhaps is that of York (1340–50), containing 48 plays. The *Ordo Paginarum*, drawn up by Roger Burton, the town clerk, in 1415, is printed in Latin by Miss Smith, and in a translation by Pollard (xxxi.–v.). The plays adhere closely to the Biblical text, and there is little borrowing from apocryphal sources. The prosperity and number of the gilds is reflected in the expansion of the Creation and Fall into six plays, and the incidents connected with the birth of Christ into a greater number. The greater refinement of the city is shown in the composition; there is more moderation and less rough caricature, and tho' some plays show less pathos than those in the Towneley MS., the Passion itself is well handled in that

[1] Ed. England and Pollard, E.E.T.S., 1897.
[2] Ed. Miss L. T. Smith, 1885.

respect. There is less contrast, but some fine character-drawing is to be found, based on observation; and while the authors felt less free in writing for their more cultured audiences, the plays show fewer evidences of old forms. Richard II. witnest the Corpus Christi plays at York in 1397.[1]

The Chester Plays[2] exist in five MSS., said to be probably based on a text of the 15th century, and referd to the middle of the 14th for their origin.[3] There are 24 plays in the cycle, distinguisht by their drier, didactical tone, their insertion of apocryphal themes, and greater seriousness. The composition is throughout more harmonious and uniform than in any other cycle, the verse being in regular eight-line stanzas, with few exceptions, and difficulty having been experienced with the rymes. A movement which afterwards led to the evolution of a new *genre* is to be seen in the evident desire to expound rather than portray the Biblical narrative, and, in consequence, the eschatological scenes are more elaborated.[4] Allegory is introduced. The York and Towneley cycles have influenced the composition of the plays. From Chester, miracle plays spread to Dublin. Unlike the preceding Corpus Christi cycles, the Chester plays were acted at Whitsuntide.

The *Ludus Coventriæ*[5] collection is containd in a Cotton MS. of the 15th century in the British Museum. It is improbable that the plays are correctly identified with the Coventry Cycle of the Grey Friars. They are evidently composed for itinerant actors, not for settled monks, and the dialect is rather north-east midland than Warwick.[6] The collection is irregular and evidently drawn up from different sources. The didactic ten-

[1] Ten Brink, ii. 265-273.

[2] Ed. Dr. H. Deimling, E.E.T.S., 1892.

[3] Pollard, xxxvi.; Ten Brink, ii. 274.

[4] Chambers, ii. 126.

[5] Ed. J. O. Halliwell-Phillips, 1841. A new edition has been long at press for the E.E.T.S.; it is sadly needed.

[6] Ten Brink, ii. 283.

dencies, noted in the Chester Plays, are carried further. In the text are evidences of the lyrical style of Chaucer's school.[1] Apocryphal and legendary sources are even more drawn upon, and allegory is still more introduced. The general tone is exceedingly serious, and true humor is rare. The antics of the Devil play a larger part in these plays than in any earlier ones.

The Cornish Plays were acted in the local dialect in the fourteenth century, and continued till a comparatively late date, in the circular rounds which may still be distinguisht. The plays extend to the Ascension and include the Creation, Resurrection and Passion. They contain an elaborate treatment of the history of the Holy Rood.[2] There were cycles at New Romney, Norwich and Beverley, and many other cities throughout England. Even the small villages had their plays, sometimes isolated parts of a cycle. The greatest activity and interest in these dramas seem to have been evinced on all sides, till the Puritan prejudice arose which caused their end. The Roman church accommodated itself to the plays; the early Dissenters opposed them, and the extreme Protestants, inheriting their traditions, sought to suppress the dramas. The York cycle was deprived of the pageants of the Coronation of the Virgin, &c., in 1548; it was amended in 1568 and playd on Whit Tuesday in 1569; in 1572 the *Paternoster* play was revised and playd; in 1579 the text was handed to the Archbishop and Dean for further revision and was impounded.[3] At Chester the mayors in 1572 and 1575 were arraignd before the Privy Council for permitting plays, tho' with a revised text; in 1600 the mayor refused permission for the performance.[4] The Coventry cycle was stopt in 1580; and by the end of the sixteenth century all the great cycles had ended, tho' plays still went on in extreme parts of the country, in Cornwall and at Kendal. Plays by then had generally degenerated. Comedy and rant

[1] Ten Brink, ii. 284.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 279; Chambers, ii. 127.
[3] Chambers, ii. 112. [4] *Ibid.*

had developt. Professional assistance was lent by the minstrels, who accompanied the songs and the metrical announcement. Dances and rough play had come more into use.[1]

By the fifteenth century new literary forms began to influence the Miracle, and the type of the Morality arose, of which the object was not to portray the scriptural text but to expound it. The object of the Moralities was ethical persuasion, to show 'Virtue in her own shape how lovely,' and the soul of man as the battleground of contending influences. The *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, with its battle in the human soul of personified Virtues and Vices, had already establisht a model, and the influence on the drama of the conventional literary mode of allegory was a certain development. For such Morality themes as the inevitable coming of Death, and the reconciliation of the heavenly virtues, sources already existed in the famed medieval Dance of Death and the scriptural text (Psalm lxxxv.). Neither of these, however, was eminently fitted for dramatisation; other literary modes were much more suitable for their treatment; and finally they became generally subordinate to a third and naturally more dramatic theme, that of the Conflict of Vices and Virtues.[2]

Properly speaking, however, four main plots can be distinguisht in the earlier Moralities or Moral Plays, and these as enumerated by Ramsay, are: (*a*) the Debate of the Heavenly Graces; (*b*) the Coming of Death; (*c*) the Conflict of Vices and Virtues; and (*d*) the Debate of the Soul and the Body. Of the last, a long-establisht and favorite English *motif*, no exemplar remains.[3] Of these plots (*a*) occurs only twice, each time in combination: in *Coventry XI.* with a Miracle theme, and in the *Castle of Perseverance* with two other Morality plots. The second (*b*) occurs four times, three times in combination, and once alone in *Everyman*. The third (*c*) enters twice

[1] Chambers, ii. 141–5.

[2] Robert Lee Ramsay, *Magnyfycence by Skelton*, E.E.T.S., 1908, cxlvii.; Chambers, ii. 153.

[3] Ramsay, cxlviii.

into combination, and provides alone the plot of seven moral plays. The earlier moral plays, however, before 1450, with the sternness of their ethical purpose, selected mainly forms (*a*), (*b*), and (*d*), themes which lent themselves to more sombre or didactic treatment; after that date the more dramatic plot (*c*) is adopted and used in seven out of eight plays.[1] Tho' the Conflict of Vices and Virtues was evidently founded on the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, the former superseded the latter in one important particular. The allegorical figures of Prudentius, Vices and Virtues, have for the end of their combat simply the supremacy of one over another; in the Morality plot the central figure of Humanity is introduced; and it is for him that the figures war, and in their relations with him the plot is carried on. The introduction of Humanity gives some backbone and purpose to the play; but it could not have been introduced all at once, and one naturally looks for a transitional form. This Dr. Ramsay detects in the lost *Paternoster* plays. Such a play, we learn from an often-quoted description, was playd at York: 'Once on a time a play setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer was played in the city of York; in which play all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to praise,'[2] More valuable is the account given by Leach in the *Furnivall Miscellany* from the Beverley Minute-Book, 1469. The first pageant, here, was that of 'Vicious,' and the following seven those of the deadly sins.[3] The last seven pageants are just, says Ramsay, what would arise from an attempt to stage the *Psychomachia*, where the roses used as weapons by Luxuria correspond to those used by Charity and Patience in the *Castle*

[1] Ramsay, cxlviii.

[2] Toulman Smith's *English Gilds*, p. 137, quoted by Pollard, Chambers, Ramsay, &c.

[3] Chambers, ii. 155, thinks the name *Paternoster* may be due to the medieval notion that each clause of the Lord's Prayer was efficacious against one of the deadly sins. The Paternoster play was playd at York in 1598; it had been alluded to by Wiclif; and a gild, *Orationis Domini*, existed for its maintenance.

of Perseverance, and where the important pageant of 'Vicious' may be identified with Humanity, the additional element in the Moralities. In this way the Beverley *Paternoster* play may be taken to be intermediate between the weak episodic form of Prudentius and the dramatic form of the Moralities. That fusion had taken place seems to be shown in the early *Castle of Perseverance*, where the elements of Humanity and the Vices and Virtues are not combined so organically as in the later *Mankind*, while *Hickscorner*, later still, shows traces of the original form, lacking the central figure.[1]

The lift that the application of the *Conflict* plot gave to dramatic composition was immense, for conflict is the very stuff of which drama is made; and while combatants striving for certain ends necessarily gain individuality, the plot of the action naturally improves in construction. The power of the drama could be considerably increast, moreover, by combinations of the different plots enumerated above. The system lent itself, too, to the introduction of contemporary figures identified mostly with prevailing vices. In *Wisdom*, a 'shrewd boy' is introduced, with six false jurors under allegorical names, three gallants and three matrons, and there are minstrels. Some connexion, however slight, with contemporary affairs is generally maintaind in the allegories. Newgyse and Now-a-days had their special significance to the fifteenth-century spectators of *Mankind*. Once conflict had taken hold of the drama, it never again left it, and has been its essence ever since.

The Conflict plot was capable of many variations and combinations. Four forms of it are distinguisht. In its first and simplest form (*Paternoster?*) it represented Vices and Virtues in single combat. In its second (*Hickscorner*) the conflict was doubled, the Vices being victorious in the first half and expressing their exultation before their defeat in the second. Thus in *Hickscorner* occur the four stages: 1. Exposition; 2. First Conflict; 3. Triumph

[1] Ramsay, cli.–clv.

of Evil; 4. Second Conflict (with the triumph of Good). These stages exprest in the third form, where the plot is doubled, in relation to the hero, are: 1. Humanity's Innocence; 2. His Temptation; 3. Life-in-Sin; 4. Repentance. The fourth form again doubles the plot, adding to the above: 5. Temptation; 6. Life-in-Sin; 7. Repentance. The third form of plot occurs in *Wisdom*, *Mankind*, and *Mary Magdalen;* the fourth in the *Castle of Perseverance* (with other plots) in *Nature* and the *Four Elements*.. *Mundus et Infans* is a modification of it.[1]

In English compositions the *Coming of Death* plot was never used alone. The Dutch *Everyman* shows us the end of a repentant sinner, who is, undramatically, aware of death's approach and able to prepare for it. The English plays superadd a second plot—in the *Pride of Life* the *Debate of the Soul and the Body* and in the *Castle of Perseverance* the *Debate of the Heavenly Graces*—in order to preserve the dramatic ending, and save the hero. The manner in which these various plots are combined (different stages in each of them being in correspondence and therefore coalescing easily) is capable of being exprest progressively, but, strangely enough, one of the most complex plots is that of the earliest play, the *Castle of Perseverance*.[2]

The earlier moral plays still used the popular rythm of the old mysteries, but differentiation of emotions by means of contrasted lines was impossible when differences of line were, thru looseness in composition, so difficult to distinguish; it became, therefore, usual to reinforce these by differences of ryme-scheme, but in *Pride of Life*, *Death of Herod*, *Castle of Perseverance*, and possibly in certain passages of *Mundus*, distinction of line was used, light lines indicating ordinary passages and heavy lines marking dignity and formality. Six main ryme-schemes occur in the earlier moral plays. The *Castle of Perseverance* consists mostly of 13-line stanzas with 9-line variations, and the first examples of the 'tail-rymed'

[1] Ramsay, clv.-clvi. [2] *Ibid.*, clviii.

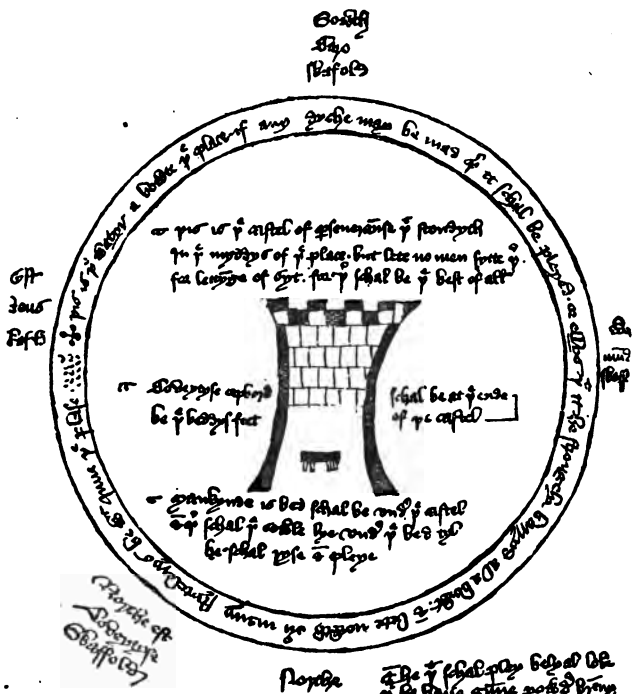
stanza. The 13-liner occurs in the *Death of Herod*, and the 9-line form with other irregular stanzas in *Mundus*. The alternate quatrain of the *Pride of Life* appears in the virtue-scene of *Mankind* and in other plays, and its double, the 'octave,' in the *Debate of the Graces* (Coventry XI.). The tail-rymed stanza became the chosen metre of the vice-scenes, while quatrain, octave or ryme-royal (first introduced in *Nature*, 1486-1500) were used for the virtue-scenes. In this metrical development Dr. Ramsay detects two elements of progress, refinement, and simplification. There was a tendency to abandon the rude technique of the Miracle, and conform to recognised models, and still more important, the tendency towards rejection of ponderous stanza-forms for metres which lent themselves more to dialog, and towards escaping from the hindrance of ryme.[1]

About the middle of the 15th century a profound change commenced to take place in the character of the Moral Play. As the transition from the early Liturgical Play to the Miracle had been effected by the new conditions in which it was placed, so the transition from the Moral Play to the Interlude depended upon changes outside of it, difference in the audience, and the stage. The first Moral Plays were constructed on the principle of the decaying Miracles. Comparatively speaking, unlimited time and any number of performers were at the writer's disposal. But as the composition of the plays past from the hands of clerics to those of courtly and secular poets, as the stage was removed from 'ways and greaves,' to the great hall of bishop and king, and as the presentation past into the hands of a small body of actors who workt for money, a process of compression and secularisation set in. The *Castle of Perseverance* itself was already performd by itinerant actors,[2] but the stage stood in the open air. The company possest their own stage property. For their play they used five

[1] Ramsay, cxxxiv.-cxlvi.

[2] Two *Vexillators*, or banner-bearers, went on beforehand to the next village to announce the play. The text leaves a blank for the

A MEDIEVAL STAGE



THE STAGE AND ARRANGEMENT USED FOR ACTING THE PLAY OF 'THE CASTELL OF PERSEVERANCE,' C. 1425.

insertion of the name of the village or place at which the announcement is made:

'*The*se parcellis in propyrtes we purpose us to playe
This day seuenenyt, before you in syth,
At ——— on *the* grene, in ryall a-ray.'—(*Macro Plays*, 81/132-4.)

scaffolds situated round a circular[1] ditch, or rope on stakes, in the middle of which stood a Castle, sufficiently low for the spectators to see the scaffolds which might be on the opposite side of it from them. Fortunately, the actual picture of the stage is preservd in the MS.[2] (We may note in passing that the essential element of fire used in the Miracles in connexion with Hell, is represented in this case by the pipes of gunpowder, which Belial is to have in his hands and ears.) Pollard describes *Mankind* as performd before an inn-yard audience (*Macro Plays*, xxii). It was certainly acted in the open, usually before a house, and for money. 'Now-a-days,' when the devil Titivillus clamors for admittance, informs the expectant audience that unless they contribute 'red royals' they may not see his 'abhomynabull presens,' and 'Newgyse' goes first to assay 'at *the* goode man of *this* house.'

These tendencies towards secularisation and compression resulted in what is known as the 'Interlude.' Various explanations of the name have been suggested.

[1] The circular form of stage was always used in Cornwall, where it may be a remainder of ancient classical influence, and occurs again in *Mary Magdalen*.

[2] The writing in the plate reads, from the cross in the circle: "+ *Th*is is *the* watyr a-bowte *the* place, if any dyche may be mad, *ther* [=where] it schal be pleyed or ellys *that* it be strongely barryd al a-bowt, & lete nowth [=nought] ov*er* many stytelerys [=managers] be *with*-ynne *the* plase." At the top, "Sowth Caro skafold"; at the bottom, "Northe Belyal skaffold"; on the left, "Est Deus [s]kafold"; and "Northe-est Coveytyse Skaffold"; and on the right, "Wes[t] Mund[us] skaffo[ld]." Above the Castle, "¶ *Th*is is *the* Castel of Perseuera*u*nse *that* stondyth in *the*, myddys [=midst] of *the* place, but lete no man sytte *ther* for lettyn*g*e of syt [= preventing of sight], for *ther* schal be *the* best of all." At the sides of the Castle, "¶ Coveytyse copbord schal be at *the* ende be *the* beddys feet of *the* Castel." Beneath the Castle, "¶ Mankynde—is bed schal be vnd*er the* Castel & *ther* schal *the* sowle lye vnder *the* bed tyl he schal ryse & pleye." Below the circle reads: "¶ he *that* schal play belyal, loke *that* he have gunne-powd*er* bre*n*ny*n*[ge] In pypys [=pipes] *in* his hand*is* & *in* his er*is* [=ears], & *in* his ers, whanne he gothe to bat[tel]." "*The* iiij dowter*is* schul be clad *in* m*en*telys; mercy in wyth [white], ryth wysnesse *in* red, al togedyr; trewthe in sad grene, & pes al in blake, and *the*i schul pleye *in the* place al togedyr tyl *the*y brynge up *the* sowle."

To some it was meant to signify a *play between* parts of a banquet; Chambers thinks it signified a *play between* two or more performers. In any case its nature is clear. Born in the days when the new light of humanism was spreading over Europe, and when the vogue of allegory was falling into decay, it departed more and more from its parent the Morality. The invention of printing liberated the minstrel class to participate in dramatic composition and performance, and the new drama inherited the minstrel legacy of farce. Its inheritance from the Morality was abstractions; but already in the Morality itself, as we noted above, the development of social satire had originated the tendency towards individual types, which the Interlude, coming under new dramatic influences, was to accomplish. The first Morality with an intentionally secular aim was that of *Magnyfycence* (*c.* 1516). It was the first play, moreover, whose author, John Skelton, was a man of letters. Skelton employd the drama as a vehicle for attack and satire; his hero typified Henry VIII.; and his play was concernd with Wolsey and the courtiers who surrounded the king, with one party of whom Skelton identified himself. *Magnyfycence* stands midway between the old order and the new. It is, as Dr. Ramsay says, 'a curious blending of originality and conservatism,' on every side —plot and cast, character-drawing, treatment of the "vice" and handling of the metre.[1]

The following list of Moral Plays and Interludes is from a list in Dr. Ramsay's *Magnyfycence* (p. cxxix.) and from other particulars supplied therein :—

Date.	Play.	Length.	Speaking Parts.	
1400–40.	*Castle of Perseverance*	ab. 3800 (3650)	35	A. The Cyclic
1470–90.	*Mary Magdalen* ..	2144	ab. 50	Stage, under
.....	*Three Estates*	4628		the influence of
	Part I.	2297	ab. 40	the Miracles.
	Part II.	2331		Outdoor Plays.

[1] Ramsay, xiv. An able book on John Skelton is that of my friend, Dr. Arthur Koelbing: *Zur Charakteristik John Skelton's*. Stuttgart, 1904.

Date	Play.	Length.	Speaking Parts.	
c. 1410.	*Pride of Life*	ab. 900 (502)	ab. 12	B. For indoors, and based on A., showing the influence of new conditions, and generally compromising.
1425–1530.	*Everyman*	921	ab. 20	
...	... ...	...	...	
1486–1500.	*Nature*	2860	21	
	Part I.	1439		
	Part II.	1421		
c. 1516.	*Magnificence*	2567	18	
1515–20.	*Four Elements*	2000	8	
b. 1483.	*Wisdom*	1168	6	C. Further compression due to new conditions.
b. 1483.	*Mankind*	ab. 1000 (907)	7	
1509–12.	*Hickscorner*	1026	6	
1500–22.	*Mundus et Infans* ..	979	5	
...	... ...	...	...	
1521–38.	*Love*	1513	4	
c. 1530.	*Weather*	1255	10	
c. 1540.	*Four P's*	1236	4	
c. 1533.	*Pardoner and Friar*	640	4	D. Still further compression.
b. 1533.	*Wit and Folly*	789	3	
b. 1533.	*Johan Johan*	680	3	

The list divides the plays into four classes: A., those founded on the older Miracles, of great length, with many actors, and designd for open-air performance. Counting the late *Three Estates* as two, the average number of lines in the Class is 2,643; the average number of speaking parts 31·25. In B. evidences of compression are distinguishable, but the authors, still basing their work on A., tend to resist the development, and compromise. The speaking parts, however, drop considerably, and the plays are for indoor performance. In B. the average of speaking parts is 13·16, and of lines is 1,541. In C. the evidence of new conditions is manifest. Some of the plays were for travelling companies, who acted in the roads, &c., but compression was just as necessary on that account. At this stage the average of speaking parts is 6, and of lines is 1,179. In D., the final comprest form, the full development is shown: the lines have dropt from a maximum of 3,800 to a minimum of 640; the speaking parts from 50 to 3. The average of speaking parts in D. is 3·3, and of lines is 686. The average of speaking parts had, therefore, dropt

from 31·25 in A. to 3·3̇ in D., and of lines from 2,643 in A. to 686 in D.

Dr. Ramsay, actually, divides the compression of characters into three stages: 1. Comprising the first five plays in the list, which show no restriction in the number of actors available; 2. Comprising the next seven, where the devices of doubling roles and using mutes is employd; and 3. Heywood's plays, where the new type did not necessitate such shifts. These divisions are markt by dotted lines.

Brandl had already detected the doubling-of-roles device in *Nature*, and Pollard in *Mankind*, when Ramsay workt out the remaining plays of Group 2. He thus tabulates his results:[1]—

	No. of Characters.	Actors.	
		Men.	Boys.
Wisdom { Speaking ..	6	4	1 }
Wisdom { Silent ..	29	—	6 }
Mankind	7	3	3
Nature	21	5	1
Hickscorner	6	4	—
Mundus	5	2	—
Magnificence	18	4	1
Four Elements ..	8	4	1

This doubling of roles was an essential thing where the actors were limited in number; but it was an awkward device, used to avoid the restrictions of a development which was inevitable; and as the length of the plays diminisht thru new conditions, and the number of speaking parts accordingly decreast, the necessity for it disappeard entirely. In Heywood's Interludes the number of actors equalld that of the speaking parts.

It was not in the Moral Plays, as Ten Brink observes, but in the later Interludes that the dramatist won freedom. In Heywood's *Four P's* and *Pardoner and Friar* all the characters were familiar figures to the sixteenth-century people, and here, at last, the old allegorical forms and the set plots of the Moralities have past away.

Meanwhile the great Renascence movement had

[1] Ramsay, cxxxii.

formulated itself in Italy, and was spreading over Europe. Quest was instituted in all likely places from Rome to Constantinople, and the long-buried stores of pagan literature were unearthed in MSS. of all kinds.[1] The lectures of such masters as Manuel Chrysoloras, Filelfo, and Politian had inspired all men with an invincible enthusiasm for humanism. Classical plays were acted, and classical models, Aristophanes, Sophocles, and Euripides, besides Seneca, Terence, and Plautus, were available for the new playwrights. About 1314, Mussato composed the first Senecan tragedy of *Ecerinis*, and the enthusiasm with which his production was receivd awoke the emulation of others, for whom the Senecan type became the model. Before 1331, Petrarch, a leading spirit in the revival, composed the first Renascence comedy, the *Philologia*, which was suppressed. Plays continued to be composed on the model of Terence, until there arose the school of pseudo-classical comedy, which found a great echo in Germany, and exercised great influence in France.

The classical revival had its first tangible recognition in England in colleges and schools. Wolsey himself encouraged it, in a way. The *Menechmi* and *Phornio* were acted in his house by the boys of St. Paul's in 1527 and 1528. John Ritwise, master of St. Paul's in those days, was himself the writer of a Latin play on Dido. The translation of the classics, particularly of Seneca, had proceeded apace in England, and it was possible for the vernacular Interludes to come under the classical influence. The first of the pseudo-classical comedies was Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister*, an adaptation of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus, written about 1551 and performd in 1553. The beginning of French comedy, in the *Eugene* of Jodelle in 1552, is thus practically coincident with what may be regarded as the inception of *Shaksperian* comedy.[2] *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, ascribed

[1] See Sir Richard Jebb's Chapter on "The Classical Renaissance," *Cambridge Hist.*, vol. i.

[2] Edmund Gosse, *Modern English Literature*, p. 94.

to W. Stevenson and to Still, was performd at Christ's College, Cambridge, and is closer to medieval farce than *Ralph Roister Doister*.[1] The earliest of the Senecan tragedies in England is Sackville's *Gorboduc* or *Ferrex and Porrex*, 1561. The Senecan model was adopted by other poets after Sackville, but it was from the first distasteful to the romantic tastes of Englishmen, who were being educated to look to the drama for lyrical beauty and romance; and tho' the academic debates characteristic of early Senecan plays were discarded when the later 'tragedy of blood' school arose, the type was superseded and merely lingerd on in a few examples like *Titus Andronicus*.

The early dramatists who preceded Shakspere—Kyd, Peele, and Marlowe—were for a time dominated by the Senecan type; but it was practically discarded after the closing of the theatres thru the plague in 1586. By this time the more romantic type had set in, which paved the way for Shakspere.

This chapter has already taken up too much room, and fuller discussion is impossible. I would refer all readers to E. K. Chambers' *Mediæval Stage*, 2 vols., 1903; to Karl Mantzius's *History of Theatrical Art*, vol. iii., "Shakspearian Period," trans. Louise von Cossel, 1904; to the editions of the Miracle Plays and Moralities prepared for the Early English Text Society, and particularly to Ramsay's *Skelton's Magnyfycence*, 1908; to Ten Brink's *English Literature*, 2 vols., trans. W. Clarke Robinson, 1893; to Pollard's *English Miracle Plays, &c.*, 1898; and to Edmund Gosse's *Modern English Literature*, 1905.

[1] Chambers, ii. 216.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

SYNOPSIS OF SHAKSPERE'S LIFE

(List of the Facts known about him)

PERIOD I

THE HOME PERIOD

1551c. John Shakspere, the poet's father, leaves Snitterfield, his birthplace, for Stratford-on Avon.

1552. April 29. He is fined 12*d.* for a dunghill (*sterquinarium*) in Henley Street.

1556. June 17. Tho nas Siche brings an action against him for £3.
October 2. He buys a house and a garden in Henley Street of Edw. West, and a house, garden, &c., in Greenhill Street.
November 19. He sues Henry Field in the Court of Record for 18 quarters of barley.

1557. He is elected ale-taster and burgess. He marries Mary Arden, of Wilmecote.
June 3. He is fined for absence from the Court of Record.

1558. September 15. Joan (No. 1), daughter of John Shakspere, is baptised at Stratford. She died young.
September 30. John Shakspere one of the jury of the court-leet.

1559. October 6. He is elected affeeror.

1561. Again affeeror and chamberlain of the boro'.

1562. December 2. Margaret, his daughter, is baptised.

[1562-3. Plague in London.]

1563. January 10. John Shakspere and John Taylor hand in their accounts as chamberlains.
April 30. Margaret buried.

1564. April 26. William Shakspere is baptised.
August 30. John Shak-pere pays 12*d.* towards the relief of the poor, and on September 6, 6*d.*

1565. John Shakspere is elected alderman.

1566. September. John Shakspere is bail for Richard Hathaway in the Court of Record.
October 13. His son Gilbert is baptised.

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1568. John Shakspere is elected high-bailiff, or mayor, and the corporation entertains two companies of players, the Queen's and the Earl of Worcester's.

1569. April 15. His second Joan is baptised.

1571. September 5. He is elected chief alderman.
September 28. His daughter Anne is baptised. William Shakspere goes to school (?).

1573. John Shakspere is made overseer to the will of Alex. Webbe, the husband of his sister-in-law. Players again at Stratford (the Earl of Leicester's).

1574. March 11. His son Richard is baptised. Earl of Warwick's and Earl of Worcester's players at Stratford.

1575. October. He purchases the traditional birthplace, described in the Fine as two houses, two gardens, and two apple-orchards in Henley Street, but really one of each.
[July 9-27. Leicester's festivities at Kenilworth for Queen Elizabeth.]

1576. He pays 12*d.* towards the salary of the town-beadle.

1577. John Shakspere's prosperity begins to fail (?).

1578. January 29. Aldermen to pay 6*s.* 8*d.* towards the cost of 3 pikemen, 2 billmen and 1 archer, and burgesses 3*s.* 4*d.* John Shakspere, tho' an Alderman, to pay the latter.
November 14. Mary Shakspere's Ashbies property mortgaged to Edmund Lambert for £40.
November 19. John Shakspere exempted from payment of the poor-tax. He is absent from the Council meetings.

1579. March 11. John Shakspere recorded as not having paid the levy for arms.
April 4. John Shakspere's daughter Anne is buried.
October 15. Mary Shakspere's Snitterfield property made over to Webbe.
Fine on Ashbies property—two houses, two gardens, fifty acres of ploughd land, two acres of meadow, four acres of pasture, and common of pasture for all kinds of beasts—to Edmund Lambert for £40.
John Shakspere was in debt at this time.
More players in Stratford.

1580. May 3. His son Edmund baptised.

1581. September 1. Richard Hathaway made his will, bequeathing £6 13*s.* 4*d.* to Anne (?).
September 7. He was buried.

1582. November 27. Entry in Bishop Whitgift's Register recording the granting of a licence of marriage between William Shaxpere and Anne Whateley, of Temple Grafton.

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1582. November 28. Fulk Sandells and John Richardson, of Stratford, bind themselves in the Consistory Court to free the minister of all liability in the case of legal impediment subsequently arising against the marriage of William Shagspere to Anne Hathwey.

1583. May 26. Shakspere's first child, Susanna, baptised, six months after his marriage.

1585. February 2. Shakspere's twins, Hamnet and Judith, baptised.

1586. John Shakspere has no property on which to distrain, January 19.

September 6. He is deprived of his alderman's status for lack of attention to municipal affairs.

1587. January 18. Action against John Shakspere by Nicholas Lane to recover £10 owed by Henry Shakspere.

March 29. He produces a writ of *habeas corpus* in the Stratford Court of Record.

The Queen's players come to Stratford.

William Shakspere leaves for London, and visits Richard Field (?).

PERIOD II

STRUGGLE TO SUCCESS IN LONDON

1589. February 26. Thomas Quiney baptised.

Love's Labour's Lost (?). *The Comedy of Errors.*

Michaelmas Term. Bill of complaint by John, Mary, and William Shakspere for the recovery of the Ashbies property from John, heir to Edmund Lambert.

1591–2. The name of a John Shakspere forwarded to the Privy Council by Sir Thomas Lucy as that of a recusant. (Probably not that of Shakspere's father.)

1592. Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit.* Shakspere attackt.

Chettle's *Kind-Hart's Dreame.* Apology. Shakspere praised.

August 21. John Shakspere one of those who appraised the property of Henry Field.

1593. Dedication of *Venus and Adonis* to Southampton.

April 18. Entry of *Venus and Adonis* in *Stationers' Register.*

Quarto 1 of *Venus and Adonis.*

1594. Dedication of *Lucrece.*

March 15. Shakspere mentiond in the Lord Chamberlain's company in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber.

May 9. Entry of *Lucrece* in *Stationers' Register.*

Quarto 1 of *Lucrece.* Quarto 1 of *The First Part of The Contention* (not Shakspere's).

February 6. Entry of *Titus Andronicus* in *Stationers' Register.*

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1594. Quarto 1 of *Titus Andronicus.*
Quarto 2 of *Venus and Adonis.*
June 25. Entry of *Venus and Adonis* in *Stationers' Register.* (Quarto 3.)
Shakspere alluded to in Henry Willobie's *Avisa.*

1593. Quarto 1 of *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke* (not Shakspere's).
Weever's Sonnet in praise of Shakspere.
Shakspere alluded to in *Polimanteia,* probably by W. Clarke.

1596. June 25. Entry of *Venus and Adonis* in *Stationers' Register.* (Quarto 4.)
Quarto 3 of *Venus and Adonis.*
August 11. Shakspere's only son Hamnet buried.
October 20. Draft grant of arms to John Shakspere.

1597. *Richard II.* enterd in *Stationers' Register* on August 29, *Richard III.* on October 20.
Quarto 1 of *Richard II.*
Quarto 1 of *Richard III.*
Quarto 1 of *Romeo and Juliet.*
January 26. John Shakspere sells part of his Henley Street property.
May 4. Shakspere buys New Place from William Underhill for £60.
November 24. Lawsuit against John Lambert for the recovery of Ashbies.
December 26. *Love's Labour's Lost* presented at Whitehall before the Queen.

1598. February 25. 1 *Henry IV.* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
July 22. *Merchant of Venice* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
Quarto 2 of *Lucrece.*
Quarto 1 of 1 *Henry IV.*
Quarto 1 of *Love's Labour's Lost.*
Quarto 2 of *Richard II.*
Quarto 2 of *Richard III.*
January 24. Letter from Abraham Sturley to Richard Quiney concerning Shakspere's willingness to disburse money on land at Shottery.
February 4. Shakspere a holder of grain during scarcity at Stratford.
Shakspere mentiond in the Stratford Chamberlain's account as seller of a load of stone (in connexion with repairs at New Place).
October 25. Richard Quiney's letter to Shakspere.
November 4. Letter from Abraham Sturley to Richard Quiney, alluding to Shakspere.
Meres praises Shakspere in his *Palladis Tamia.*
Shakspere acts in Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour.*

APPENDIX

1599. Quarto 1 of *Passionate Pilgrim*
Quarto 4 of *Venus and Adonis.*
Quarto 2 of 1 *Henry IV.*
Quarto 2 of *Romeo and Juliet.*
Second draft of grant of arms to John Shakspere.
'The Globe' theatre built on Bankside and Shakspere made 'partner' in Burbage's company.

PERIOD III

ASSURED SUCCESS

1600. August 4. *As You Like It, Henry V.* and *Much Ado About Nothing* enterd in *Stationers' Register*—'to be staied.'
August 14. *Henry V.* in *Stationers' Register* transferd to Pavier.
August 23. *Much Ado About Nothing* and 2 *Henry IV.* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
October 8. *Midsummer-Night's Dream* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
October 28. *Merchant of Venice* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
Quarto 5 of *Venus and Adonis.*
Quarto 3 of *Lucrece.*
Quarto 1 of 2 *Henry IV.*
Quarto 1 of *Much Ado About Nothing.*
Quartos 1 and 2 of *Midsummer-Night's Dream.*
Quartos 1 and 2 of *Merchant of Venice.*
Quarto 2 of *First Part of The Contention* (not Shakspere's).
Quarto 2 of *True Tragedie* (not Shakspere's).
Quarto 2 of *Titus Andronicus.*
Quarto 1 of *Henry V.*

1601 [January, Essex's Rebellion.]
September 8 John Shakspere buried at Stratford.
Phœnix and Turtle printed in Chester's *Loves Martyr.*

1602. January 18. *Merry Wives of Windsor* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
April 19. 1 and 2 *Henry VI.* and *Titus Andronicus* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
July 26. *Hamlet* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
Quartos 6 and 7 of *Venus and Adonis.*
Quarto 3 of *Richard III.*
Quarto 1 of *Merry Wives of Windsor.*
Quarto 2 of *Henry V.*
February 2. Manningham records seeing *Twelfth Night* at the Barristers' Feast.
May 1. Shakspere buys of William and John Combe, for £320, 107 acres of land in Old Stratford.

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1602. September 28. Surrender from Walter Getley to Shakspere of a cottage, &c., in Walker's Street (Dead Lane), Stratford.
Shakspere arranges with Hercules Underhill concerning a flaw which, apparently, was discoverd in the deeds of New Place.
The *Returne from Pernassus* praises Shakspere's powers.

1603. [March 24. Queen Elizabeth died.]
February 7. *Troilus and Cressida* enterd in *Stationers Register.*
June 25. *Richard III.*, *Richard II.* and 1 *Henry IV.* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
Quarto 1 of *Hamlet.*
May 17. James I. licenses Shakspere's company as the 'King's Players.'
Revel's entries of *Othello, Merry Wives of Windsor* (November 4), *Measure for Measure* (December 26), and *Comedy o, Errors* (December 28).
Shakspere acts in Jonson's *Sejanus.*

1604. Quarto 3 of 1 *Henry IV.*
Quarto 2 of *Hamlet.*
March–May. Shakspere sells malt to Philip Rogers, of Stratford.
June 25. He lends Rogers money, and sues him for it.

1605. Quarto 4 of *Richard III.*
Quarto 3 of *Hamlet.*
May 4. Augustine Phillipps, of Shakspere's company, leaves in his will a thirty-shilling piece in gold to Shakspere.
July 24. Shakspere buys for £440 the 32 years' term of the moiety of the lease of Stratford tithes.
[November 5. Gunpowder Plot.]

1607. January 22. *Romeo and Juliet, Love's Labour's Lost, The Taming of a Shrew* (not Shakspere's), entered in *Stationers' Register.*
November 19. *Hamlet, Romeo and Juliet,* and *Love's Labour's Lost* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
November 26. *King Lear* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
Quarto 4 of *Lucrece.*
June 5. Shakspere's daughter Susanna wedded Dr. John Hall, of Stratford.
December 31. Shakspere's brother Edmund, the player, buried at St. Saviour's, Southwark.

1608. May 2. *A Yorkshire Tragedy* enterd as Shakspere's in *Stationers' Register.*
May 20. *Pericles* and *Antony and Cleopatra* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
Quarto 4 of 1 *Henry IV.*
Quartos 1 and 2 of *King Lear.*
Quarto 3 of *Henry V.*

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1608. Quarto 3 of *Richard II.*
February 21. Shakspere's grandchild Elizabeth, daughter of Susanna, baptised at Stratford.
August. Shakspere sues John Addenbrooke for debt
September 9. Shakspere's mother buried.
October 16. Shakspere is godfather to William Walker, at Stratford.

1609. January 28. *Troilus and Cressida* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
February 15. Lawsuit with John Addenbrooke.
May 20. *Sonnets* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*
June 7. Proceedings against Thomas Homeby, the bail of Addenbrooke.
Sonnets publisht.
Quartos 3 and 4 of *Romeo and Juliet.*
Quartos 1 and 2 of *Pericles.*
Quarto 1 of *Troilus and Cressida.*
Shakspere retires to Stratford (?).

PERIOD IV

RENEWED FAMILY LIFE

1610. April 13. Fine on the purchase of an estate from the Combes, at Stratford.
April 20. Dr. Simon Forman's note on *Macbeth*, &c.

1611. Quarto 4 of *Hamlet.*
Quarto 3 of *Pericles.*
Quarto 3 of *Titus Andronicus.*
November 1. Revels' entry of *The Tempest.*
November 5. Revels' entry of *The Winter's Tale.*
September 11. Shakspere's name in a list of donations towards repairing the highways.

1612. Quarto 2 of *Passionate Pilgrim.*
Quarto 5 of *Richard III.*
Shakspere in a draft bill of complaint, with Richard Lane and Thomas Greene, concerning the Stratford tithes.

1613. Quarto 5 of 1 *Henry IV.*
February 4. Shakspere's brother Richard buried at Stratford.
March 10. Shakspere buys from Henry Walker for £140 a house and ground near Blackfriars Theatre, London.
March 11. Shakspere mortgages the property to its vendor, having paid only £80, and lets the house.
March 24. Payment to Shakspere and Richard Burbage of 44*s.* each in gold for an *impreso* for the Earl of Rutland. (There is a possibility that this is not William Shakspere.)

APPENDIX

1612. June 29. Globe Theatre burnt down during the performance of *Henry VIII.*

May 20. Entry in the account of the Treasurer of the Chamber of payment to John Heminges for playing of *Much Ado*, *Tempest*, *Merry Wives* (?) and *Julius Cæsar* (?) before the Lady Elizabeth.

1614. March 1. *Lucrece* enterd in *Stationers' Register.*

July. John Combe leaves Shakspere £5 in his will.

September 5. Shakspere mentiond as a freeholder of Stratford.

October 28. Agreement between Shakspere and William Replingham regarding the Stratford tithes.

Shakspere in London, where he is visited by Thomas Greene, of Stratford.

December 23. Greene, in Stratford, writes to Shakspere concerning local affairs.

A Puritan preacher stops at New Place, whereto the corporation send him wine.

1615. Quarto 4 of *Richard II.*

January 9, 10, and September. Entries in Greene's Diary concerning Shakspere and Stratford enclosures.

April 26. Bill of complaint by Shakspere and others to recover title-deeds of Blackfriars property left in the hands of its vendor, Anne Bacon, and wrongfully withheld by Matthew Bacon, her heir.

May 5. Answer of the defendant, Matthew Bacon.

May 22. Decision of the court ordering Matthew Bacon to bring the title-deeds into court.

1616. Quarto 5 of *Lucrece.*

Shakspere's health failing.

January 25. Fair copy of Shakspere's will.

February 10. Shakspere's daughter Judith weds Thomas Quiney.

March 25. Shakspere executes his will.

April 23. Shakspere dies at New Place.

April 25. He is buried in the chancel of Stratford Church.

June 22. His will is proved by his son-in-law, Dr. John Hall, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

APPENDIX II

From Fleay's Tables (Corrected)

METRE AND DATE TABLE OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS

Play.	Total of Lines.	Prose.	Blank.	Rymes, 5 Measures.	Rymes, Short Lines.	Songs.	Double Endings	Alternature.	Sonnets.	Doggerel.	1 Measure.	2 Measures.	3 Measures.	4 Measures.	6 Measures.	Publisht.	Earliest Allusion.	Supposed Date.
I.—PLAYS OF FIRST (RYMING) PERIOD. (M = Meres, 1598)																		
Love's Labour's Lost	2789	1086	579	1028	54	32	9	236	71	194	4	12	13	—	1	1598	1594 M	1588–9
Comedy of Errors ..	1778	240	1150	380	—	—	137	64	—	109	3	8	9	—	—	1623	1594 M	1589–91
Midsummer-N. Dream	2174	441	878	731	138	63	29	158	—	—	—	5	3	—	—	1600	1598 M	1590–1
Two Gent. of Verona..	2294	409	1510	116	—	15	203	16	—	18	8	15	32	8	5	1623	1598 M	1590–2
Romeo and Juliet ..	3052	405	2111	486	—	—	118	62	28	—	10	20	16	4?	6	1597	1595 M	1591–3
Richard II.	2756	—	2107	587	—	—	148	12	—	—	11	17	26	22	33?	1597	? 1595 M	? 1593
Richard III...	3619	55?	3374	170	—	—	570	—	—	—	20	39	13	23	16	1597	? 1595 M	? 1594–5
II.—HISTORIES AND COMEDIES OF SECOND PERIOD																		
King John	2570	—	2403	150	—	—	54	12	—	—	1	9	4	4	2	1623	1598 M	1594–5
Merchant of Venice ..	2660	673	1896	93	34	9	297	4	—	4	8	16	22	2	14	1600[1]	1598 M	? 1595–6
1 Henry IV.	3176	1464	1622	84	—	—	60	4	—	—	16	17	16	16	13	1598	1598 M	1596–7[2]
2 Henry IV.	3446	1860	1417	74	7	15	203	[Pistol 64 l.]			3	13	7	—	6	1600	1598 M	1598–9
Henry V.	3380	1531	1678	101	2	8	291	[Pist. 157 l.]	14	—	2	13	10	4	23	1600	1599	1599[2]
Merry Wives	3018	2703	227	69	—	19	32	[Pistol 39 l.]			—	3	3	—	3	1602	1599	1599
Much Ado, &c.	2826	2106	643	40	18	16	129	22	—	—	2	7	15	4	4	1600	1600	1599–1600
As You Like It	2857	1681	925	71	130	97	211	10	—	2	3	10	33	1	5	1623	1600	1599–1600[2]
Twelfth Night	2690	1741	763	120	—	60	152	—	—	—	8	21	23	5	10	1623	1602	1601[2]
All 's Well .. .. .. (Love's L. Won, 1590)	2966	1453	1234	280	2	12	223	8	14	—	7	31	31	5	14	1623	—	1601–2

[1] Enterd one year before at Stationers' Hall

[2] May be lookt on as fairly certain.

METRE AND DATE TABLE OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS—*Continued*

PLAY.	TOTAL OF LINES.	PROSE.	BLANK.	RYMES, 5 MEASURES.	RYMES, SHORT LINES.	SONGS.	DOUBLE ENDING.	ALTERNATES.	SONNETS.	DOGGREL.	1 MEASURE.	2 MEASURES.	3 MEASURES.	4 MEASURES.	6 MEASURES.	PUBLISHT.	EARLIEST ALLUSION.	SUPPOSED DATE.
III.—TRAGEDIES AND COMEDY OF THIRD PERIOD																		
Julius Cæsar	2478	165	2241	31	—	—	369	—	—	—	14	31	55	6	16	1623	1601	1601[2]
Hamlet	3931	1208	2490	81	—	60	508	[86 l. play]			20	53	55	11	47	1608[1]	?	1602–3[3]
Measure for Measure	2821	1134	1574	73	22	6	338	—	—	—	10	29	66	5	47	1623	—	? 1603
Othello	3316	541	2672	86	—	25	646	—	—	—	19	66	71	18	78	1622	1610	? 1604
Macbeth	2108	158	1588	118	129	—	399	—	—	—	8	28	43	8	18	1623	1610	1605–6[2]
King Lear	3324	903	2238	74	—	83	567	—	—	—	18	34	116	22	50	1608[1]	1606	1605–6[2]
Antony and Cleopatra	3068	255	2761	42	—	6	613	—	—	—	14	38	84	31	61	1623	? 1608	1606–7
Coriolanus	3410	829	2521	42	—	—	703	—	—	—	8	33	76	19	42	1623	—	? 1607–8
IV.—PLAYS OF FOURTH PERIOD																		
Tempest	2064	458	1458	2	—	96	476	[54 l. masq.]			2	16	47	5	11	1623	? 1614	1609–10
Cymbeline	3339	638	2585	107	—	32	726	[84 l. vision]			8	15	81	18	42	1623	1611	1609–10
Winter's Tale	3075	844	1825	—	—	57	639	[32 l. chorus]			8	14	19	18	16	1623	1611	? 1611
V.—FIRST SKETCHES IN EARLY QUARTOS																		
Romeo and Juliet	2066	261	1451	354	—	—	92	28	—	—	7	26	30	21	92	1597	1595 M	? 1591–3
Hamlet	2068	509	1462	54	48	—	209	[86 l. play]			18	45	76	37	30	1603[1]	?	1601–3[3]
Henry V.	1672	898	774	30	—	—	104	—	—	—	1	25	35	31	15	1600	1599	1599[3]
Merry Wives	1895	1207	148	40	38 [fairies]		19	—	—	—	—	1	—	5	4	1602	1602	1598–9

VI.—DOUBTFUL PLAYS

Titus Andronicus ..	2523	43	2338	144	—	—	154	—	—	—	4	8	9	9	12	1594	1598 M	1588–90
1 Henry VI.	2677	—	2379	314	—	—	140	—	—	—	5	5	4	7	12	1623	1592	1592–4
2 Henry VI.	3162	448	2562	122	—	—	255	—	—	—	8	25	15	21	12	1623	—	1592–4
3 Henry VI.	2904	—	2749	155	—	—	846	—	—	—	13	11	14	11	7	1623	—	1592–4
Contention	1952	381	1571	44	—	—	54	—	—	—	—	14	16	32	44	1594	1592	1586–8
True Tragedy	2101	—	2035	66	—	—	148	—	—	—	14	21	29	38	34	1595	1592	1586–8

VII.—PLAYS IN WHICH SHAKSPERE WAS NOT SOLE AUTHOR

Taming of the Shrew..	2649	516	1971	169	15	—	260	—	—	49	4	18	22	23	5	1623	—	1596–7
Troilus and Cressida ..	3496	1186	2025	196	—	16	441	—	—	—	10	46	62	18	43	1609	1609	1603
Timon of Athens.. ..	2373	506	1560	184	18	—	257	—	—	—	15	28	54	30	37	1623	—	1607–8
Pericles	2389	418	1436	225	89	—	120	[222 l. Gower]			17	49	59	26	18	1609[1]	1608	1608–9[2]
Henry VIII.	2822	67?	2613	16	—	12	1195	[46 l. Pr., Ep.]			2	19	18	3	32	1623	? 1613	1610–12[2]

Poems publisht:—*Venus and Adonis*, 1593; *Lucrece*, 1594; *Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599; *Phœnix and Turtle* in Chester's *Loves Martyr*, 1601; *Sonnets*, 1609, with *A Lover's Complaint*.

[1] Enterd one year before at Stationers' Hall.

[2] May be lookt on as fairly certain.

APPENDIX III

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NOTES

P. 11.—The full extracts from the Plume MSS. are printed in the new edition of the *Shakespeare Allusion-Books*, edited by J. J. Munro.

P. 20.—The interesting Shaksperian poem, "To all the ancient family of the *Luceys* and to all their Honourable Extractions," is printed in '*The Poems of Ben Johnson Junior, being a Miscelanie of Seriousness, Wit, Mirth and Mysterie, in Vulpone, The Dream, Iter Boriale, Songs, &c., composed by W. S. Gent.* Printed for Tho. Passenger at the three Bibles about the middle of London Bridge, 1672.'

P. 33. *Shakspere . . . armd.*—The condition of the roads then was bad. (*See* Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life*, 1899.)

P. 35. *Dunbar on London.*—This poem is printed in R. Dyboski's *Songs, Carols and other Miscellaneous Poems.* E.E.T.S., 1908, p. 100. The first verse reads:

"London, thow art of townes a per se,
Soverayn of cyties, semlyest by sight,
Of high renown, riches and royalte,
Of lordis, barones, and many goodly knight,
Of most delectable lusty ladyes bryght,
Of famowse prelates in habytis clerycall,
Of merchantis full of substance and myght:
London, thow art the flowr of cytes all."

This is the sixth verse:

"Strong be the walles that abowt the stondes,
Wise be the people that within the dwellis;
Fresshe is thy river with his lusty strandis;
Blith be the chirches; well sownyng be the bellis;
Ryche be thy merchantis in substance that excellis;
Fayre be ther wyffes, right lovesum, whit and small,
Clere be thy virgyns, lusty vnder kellis [cauls].
London, thou art the flowr of ccties all!"

P. 41. *Cynthia.*—Elizabeth is so calld in Spenser's *Colin Clout's Come Home Againe.* (*See* the lines on her, 591, &c.)

P. 58. *Succession of Shakspere's Works.*—Prof. Dowden's grouping of the plays, which is different to mine, is as follows:

NOTES

1. PRE-SHAKSPERIAN GROUP
(Touched by Shakspere)

Titus Andronicus } (blood and fire).
1 Henry VI. }

2. MARLOWE-SHAKSPERE GROUP

Early History.

2 & 3 *Henry VI.* (Marlowe's *presence*).
Richard III. (Marlowe's *influence*).

3. EARLY COMEDIES

Love's Labour's Lost.
Comedy of Errors.
Two Gentlemen.
Midsummer-Night's Dream.

4. EARLY TRAGEDY

Romeo and Juliet.

5. MIDDLE HISTORY

Richard II.
King John.

6. MIDDLE COMEDY

Merchant of Venice.

7. LATER HISTORY (History and Comedy united)

1 & 2 Henry IV.
Henry V.

8. LATER COMEDY

Group (*a*). Rough and boisterous comedy.

No sadness.

Shrew.
Merry Wives.

(*b*). Refined, joyous, romantic.

Musical sadness.

Twelfth Night.
Much Ado.
As You Like It.

(Jaques the link to the next group.)

Discordant sadness.

(*a*). Earnest. *All's Well.*
Bitter, dark. *Measure for Measure.*
Ironical. *Troilus and Cressida* (which I place here).

9. MIDDLE TRAGEDY (=Tragedy of reflection)

Julius Cæsar. Error and misfortune rather than passion and crime.
Hamlet.

10. LATER TRAGEDY (=Tragedy of passion)

Jealousy and murder. *Othello.*
Ambition and murder. *Macbeth.*
Ingratitude and parricide. *King Lear.*
Voluptuousness. *Antony and Cleopatra.*
Haughtiness (alienation from country). *Coriolanus.*
Misanthropy (alienation from humanity). *Timon.*

(*Timon* is the climax.)

11. ROMANCES

Sketch *Marina* (1st *Tempest*).
Tempest (*Tempest* again).
Cymbeline.
Winter's Tale.

12. FRAGMENTS

Henry VIII.
Two Noble Kinsmen.

Observe I have early, middle, and later History; early, middle, and later Comedy; and early, middle, and later Tragedy; and the plays might well be read, not only right through in chronological order, but also in these three lines chronologically:

Comedy.	Tragedy.	History.
a	*a*	*a*
b	*b*	*b*
c	*c*	*c*

According to Hertzberg, *Jahrbuch*, Vol. 13, the order of the Plays, according to the percentage of hendecasyllabic lines, is as follows:

Love's Labour's Lost, 4 per cent.; 1 *Henry IV.*, 4·8; *Titus Andronicus*, 5; *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, 6; *King John*, 6; *Romeo and Juliet*, 7·26; 1 *Henry VI.*, 7·6; 2 *Henry VI.*, 10·5; *Richard II.*, 11·39; *Comedy of Errors*, 12·3; 3 *Henry VI.*, 12·3; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 15; *Merchant of Venice*, 15; 2 *Henry IV.*, 15; *Taming of the Shrew*, 16: *Julius Cæsar*, 17·58; *Richard III.*, 18; *Henry V.*, 18·37; *Twelfth Night*, 19·52; *Troilus and Cressida*, 20·5; *Much Ado*, 20·7; *Merry Wives of Windsor*, 21; *All's Well*, 21; *Measure for Measure*, 21·9; *As You Like It*, 21·7; *Macbeth*, 23·47; *Timon*, 24; *Hamlet*, 25; *Othello*, 26; *Antony and Cleopatra*, 26; *Lear*, 27·36; *Coriolanus*, 28·44; *Tempest*, 32; *Cymbeline*, 32; *Winter's Tale*, 32·5; *Henry VIII.*, 45·6. If we suppose *The Taming of the Shrew* to be *Love's Labours Won*, the list down to *Richard III.* gives us all the plays mentiond by Meres. The only outsiders are *Henry VI.* and *Julius Cæsar*, and the latter comes within ½ per cent. of the limit.

P. 60. *Weever's 'Mirror of Martyrs.'*—Professor Guizot, in a note of February 3rd, 1877, suggested that as speeches of Brutus and Antony over Cæsar's body were in Appian's *Civil Wars*, Bk. II., ch. cxxxvii.-cxlvii., and that book was englisht in 1578, I should look whether the speeches were in the englisht version, as Weever might have alluded to it, and not to Shakspere's play. On turning to the anonymous translation of the first books of Appian, publisht by H. Binneman in 1578, I found that though a very long speech by Brutus was given, yet that was a day before Antony's short speeches to the people over the corpse, while Antony's earlier speeches to the Senate were much longer. There was no such sharp contrast between the two orators' speeches as Shakspere makes, and Weever

alludes to. Moreover, the 1578 englisht Appian can never have been a popular book, and must have been somewhat out of date when Shakspere wrote his play. Weever's allusion must have been to something fresh in folk's minds in 1601, and to some long and striking speeches that at once followd Brutus's, and were aimd at it, like Antony's in the play were, and not to the short "plaine speeches spoken agaynst the Senate," &c., and others to the people, in the englisht Appian. But while I am clear that Weever's allusion was to Shakspere, and not to Appian, I am none the less grateful to my friend Professor Guizot for having pointed out, as Mr. Watkiss Lloyd had before done in 1856 (*Critical Essays*, 1875, p. 401), one of the possible sources, in Appian, of our great poet's famous scene and speeches. As the 1578 Appian is very rare, I printed the corpse speeches from it as the fourth Appendix to the *New Shak. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-6, Part II.

P. **96.** *Merchant of Venice.*—A similar story to that of Shylock in The 'Merchant of Venice' is printed in *Versatile Ingenium*. In Constantinople a certain Christian desired to borrow five hundred duckets of a Jew. The Jew lent them to him, under the condition that for the use of the money he should give him two ounces of his flesh at the end of the time, cut from one of his members. The day of payment being come, the Christian repaid the duckets to the Jew, but refused to give him any part of his flesh. The Jew being unwilling to lose his interest, brought the Christian before Soliman, Emperor of the Turks, who, having heard the demand of the one, and the answer of the other, commanded a razor to be brought and given to the Jew, to whom he said, 'Because thou shalt know that justice is done thee, take there the razor and cut from the flesh of the Christian two ounces, which thou demandest; but take heed thou cut neither more nor less; for if thou dost, thou shalt surely die.' The Jew, holding that to be impossible, dared not adventure, and acquitted the Christian from paying his interest. (*Versatile Ingenium, The Wittie Companion, or Jests of all Sorts, from Citie and Countrie, Court and Universitie, with an account of the Life of the laughing Philosopher Democritus of Abdera, by Democritus Junior;* Amsterdam, Stephen Swartz, 1679.)

P. **106.** *Sonnets.*—Professor Dowden says:—"The first possible break in the Sonnets is at No. 32; the second possible (I don't say actual) one is at No. 74; the third possible one at 96. With 100 begins a new series, after three years from the first Sonnets. Beauty, Time, Offspring, Verse, Goodness, Love,—these are the topics of the Sonnets. How shall beauty conquer time? First, by *breed* (early Sonnets). Well, if you won't beget, then by *verse*. But in the end, *Love as Love is the one eternal thing*, and this love is founded on the virtue of

the soul, not the beauty of the face (last of the series, 125). That is the end of the whole matter." But see now Professor Dowden's new edition of the *Sonnets*, with notes, specially working out the connexion between Sonnets 1-126 (Kegan Paul & Co.). Get also Dowden's shilling Shakspere Primer (Macmillans). Armitage Brown divides the *Sonnets* into six poems, each with its envoy: I., Nos. 1-26; II., 27-55; III., 56-77; IV., 78-101; V., 102-126; VI., 127-152. He thinks 153-4 do not relate to the mistress of 127-152.

Herr Hertzberg, on a hint from Frh. von Friesen, has hunted up a Greek epigram, the source of Shakspere's Sonnets CLIII., CLIV. (*Jahrbuch*, vol. 13). It is a work of the Byzantine Marianus, a writer probably of the fifth century, and runs thus:—

"Τῷδ' ὑπὸ τας πλατάνους ἁπαλῷ τετρυμένος ὕπνῳ
εὗδεν Ἔρως, νύμφαις λαμπάδα παρθέμενος
Νύμφαι δ' ἀλλήλῃσι, 'τι μέλλομεν; αἴθε δὲ τούτῳ
σβέσσαμεν,' εἶπον, 'ὁμοῦ πὺρ κραδίης μερόπων.'
Λαμπὰς δ' ὡς ἔφλεξε καὶ ὕδατα, θερμὸν ἐκεῖθεν
Νύμφαι Ἐρωτιάδες λουτροχοεῦσιν ὕδωρ."

We cannot tell where Shakspere found it, but it had been translated into Latin in 1529, and several times afterwards.

P. 120-2. *Grant White on "Troilus and Cressida."*—"*Troilus and Cressida* is Shakespeare's wisest play in the way of worldly wisdom. It is filled choke-full of sententious and, in most cases, slightly satirical revelations of human nature, uttered with a felicity of phrase and an impressiveness of metaphor that make each one seem like a beam of light shot into the recesses of man's heart. Such are these:—

'In the reproof of chance
Lies the true proof of men.'

'The wound of peace is surety;
Surety secure; but modest doubt is called
The beacon of the wise.'

'What is aught, but as 't is valued?'

''T is mad idolatry
To make the service greater than the god.'

'A stirring dwarf we do allowance give
Before a sleeping giant.'

''T is certain, greatness once fall'n out with fortune
Must fall out with men too; what the declin'd is,
He shall as soon read in the eyes of others
As feel in his own fall; for men, like butterflies,
Show not their mealy wings but to the summer;
And not a man, for being simply man,
Hath any honor.'

Besides passages like these, there are others of which the wisdom is inextricably interwoven with the occasion." . . .

"The undramatic character of *Troilus and Cressida*, which has been already mentioned, appears in its structure, its personages, and its purpose. . . . There is also a singular lack of that peculiar characteristic of Shakespeare's dramatic style, the marked distinction and nice discrimination of the individual traits, mental and moral, of the various personages. Ulysses is the real hero of the play; the chief, or, at least, the great purpose of which is the utterance of the Ulyssean view of life; and in this play Shakespeare is Ulysses, or Ulysses Shakespeare. In all his other plays Shakespeare so lost his personal consciousness in the individuality of his own creations that they think and feel, as well as act, like real men and women other than their creator, so that we cannot truly say of the thoughts and feelings which they express, that Shakespeare says thus or so; for it is not Shakespeare who speaks, but they with his lips. But in Ulysses, Shakespeare, acting upon a mere hint, filling up a mere traditionary outline, drew a man of mature years, of wide observation, of profoundest cogitative power, one who knew all the weakness and all the wiles of human nature, and who yet remained with blood unbittered and soul unsoured—a man who saw through all shams, and fathomed all motives, and who yet was not scornful of his kind, not misanthropic, hardly cynical except in passing moods; and what other man was this than Shakespeare himself What had he to do when he had passed forty years, but to utter his own thoughts when he would find words for the lips of Ulysses? And thus it is that *Troilus and Cressida* is Shakespeare's wisest play. If we would know what Shakespeare thought of men and their motives after he reached maturity, we have but to read this drama; drama it is; but with what other character, who shall say? For, like the world's pageant, it is neither tragedy nor comedy, but a tragi-comic history, in which the intrigues of amorous men and light-o'-loves and the brokerage of panders are mingled with the deliberations of sages and the strife and the death of heroes.

"The thoughtful reader will observe that Ulysses pervades the serious parts of the play, which is all Ulyssean in its thought and language. And this is the reason, or rather the fact, of the play's lack of distinctive characterisation. For Ulysses cannot speak all the time that he is on the stage; and, therefore, the other personages, such as may, speak Ulyssean, with, of course, such personal allusion and peculiar trick as a dramatist of Shakespeare's skill could not leave them without, for difference. For example, no two men could be more unlike in character than Achilles and Ulysses, and yet the former, having asked the latter what he is reading, he, uttering his own thought, says as follows with the subsequent reply:—

"*Ulyss.* A strange fellow here
Writes me: That man, how dearly ever parted,[1]
How much in having, or without or in,
Cannot make boast to have that which he hath,
Nor feels not what he owes, but by reflection,
As when his virtues shining upon others
Heat them, and they retort that heat again
To the first giver.'

"*Achil.* This is not strange, Ulysses.
The beauty that is borne here in the face,
The bearer knows not, but commends itself
To others' eyes; nor doth the eye itself,
That most pure spirit of sense, behold itself,
Not going from itself; but eye to eye opposed,
Salutes each other with each other's form;
For speculation turns not to itself
Till it hath travelled, and is mirror'd there
Where it may see itself. This is not strange at all.'

"Now these speeches are made of the same metal and coined in the same mint; and they both of them have the image and superscription of William Shakespeare. No words or thoughts could be more unsuited to that bold, bloody egoist, 'the broad Achilles,' than the reply he makes to Ulysses; but here Shakespeare was merely using the Greek champion as a lay figure to utter his own thoughts, which are perfectly in character with the son of Autolycus. Ulysses thus flows over upon the whole serious part of the play. Agamemnon, Nestor, Æneas, and the rest, all talk alike, and all like Ulysses. That Ulysses speaks for Shakespeare will, I think, be doubted by no reader who has reached the second reading of this play by the way which I have pointed out to him. And why, indeed, should Ulysses not speak for Shakespeare, or how could it be other than that he should? The man who had written *Hamlet, King Lear, Othello,* and *Macbeth,* if he wished to find Ulysses, had only to turn his mind's eye inward; and thus we have in this drama Shakespeare's only piece of introspective work." Let Shakspere's worldly wisdom of 1606 be in Ulysses. His spirit of the Fourth Period is not. God forbid that Ulysses,—not Prospero,—and Cressid,—not Imogen, Hermione, Perdita,—should give us our last impression of Shakspere!

Henry VIII. had at his death "vj. Peces of fine newe Tapsterie of the Historie of Helene and Paris," seven "of the Historye of Vulcanus, Mars and Venus," five "of the Sabinians" (rape of the women), six "of thistorie of Hercules."—*Harl. MS.*, 1419A, lf. 68-9. He had also two tables with pictures of Lucrece—"Lucressia Romana"—one of her "all naked, havinge like a

[1] *I.e.*, gifted, endowed with parts.

Sipres aboute her," and the other "in a gowne like Crymosen Veluette with greene foresleues cutte," besides a "Table withe twooe foldinge leaues of Lucretia Romana wrought in Allablastre."—*Ib.*, lf. 125, bk. 126.

On January 6, 1516, the King being at Eltham for his Christmas holiday, a castle of timber was orderd to be made, and "Cornish and the Children of the Chapel" (14 of 'em) also performd "the story of Troylous and Pandor rychly inparylled; allso Kallkas and Kryssyd inparylled lyke a widow of onour, in blake sarsenet and other abelements for seche mater; Dyomed and the Greks inparylld lyke men of warre, akordyng to the intent or porpose. After weche komedy playd and done, an harroud cryd and mad an oy that 3 strange knyghts wer comme to do batall with [those] of the sayd kastell."—*State Papers Dom.*, Hen. VIII., vol. ii., Pt. 2, p. 1505. The stuff used for the players' garments and "one of the chapel children who played Eulyses," &c., are stated, and the cost, including fourpence for a barber "for there heer trymmyng and wesschyng of their heads."

P. 164. *Shakspere's Books.*—The chief of these are given in the account of the sources of each play in the Introductions, and at the conclusion of the Review of each Period. I divide Shakspere's books into his tráde- or plot-ones—those that he used directly for his business, as the *Menechmi*, *Contention*, *True Tragedie*, *Troublesome Raigne*, *A Shrew*, *Holinshed*, *Plutarch's Lives*, Italian story-books, &c.,—and his leisure or occasional books. from which he took bits only—the Bible, Marlowe, Montaigne, Lyly, Harsnet, *A 100 Merry Tales*, &c.

Pp. 164, 167. *Shakspere's Religion.*—He declares his belief in immortality where he speaks for himself in his Sonnet CXLVI., his remonstrance with his own soul—

> "So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,
> *And Death once dead, there's no more dying then.*"

Against this we cannot set his saying for Prospero, "Our little life is rounded with a sleep," not only because that is a sleep from which men may be waked, but because Prospero's dissolution of "the great globe itself" implies a reference to *Revelation*, xx. 11, and xxi. 1, where "a newe heaven and a newe earth" are to take the place of those that "were passed away," and whose "place was no more found," and because Prospero's declaration that "Every third thought shall be my grave" surely means that he lookt on this life as a preparation for a future one. At the same time no one can fairly put down as Shakspere's own belief all the biblical and superstitious utterances in his characters' mouths in his plays. His dramatic voice, of course, does not always speak his own beliefs. Yet such is his "saturation with the Bible story," so thoroughly

does it "seem as much part of him as his love of nature and music, bubbling out of him at every turn," that I, with some reluctance, conclude that he held in the main the orthodox layman's belief of his day. (*See* my Forewords to *Shakspere and Holy Writ.*)

P. 177. *Shakspere, one of the "meane" folk, made a King's Player.*—In 1604, Gilbert Dugdale says, in his *Time Triumphant*, of James I., "not onely to the indifferent of worth and the worthy of honor, did he freely deale about thiese causes [giving honours to gentlemen and lords], but to the *meane* gave grace, as taking to him the late Lord Chamberlaine's Servants, now the King's Acters; the Queene taking to her the Earle of Worster's Servants, that are now her Acters; the Prince, their Sonne, Henry Prince of Wales, full of hope, tooke to him the Earle of Nottingham his servants, who are now his Acters; so that of Lords Servants, they are now the Servants of the King, Queene, and Prince."—Nichols's *Progresses of James I.* i. 413.

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f., ff. = *following page or pages.* *n.* = *note.*

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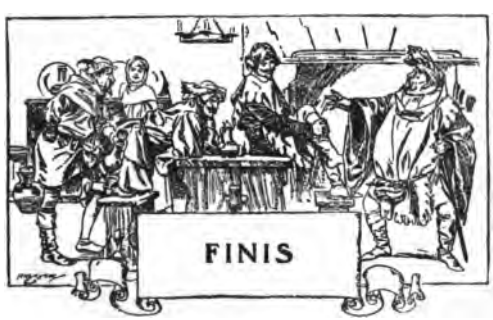

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